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MEMOIRS

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

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MEMOIRS.
OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

FROM THE FRENCH OF
M. FAUVELET DE BOURRIENNE.

BY
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AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF SCULPTURE, PAINTING, AND
ARCHITECTURE," &c

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MEMOIRS
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CHAPTER I.

**BONAPARTE EMPEROR—THE EMPEROR'S RESIDENCE IN
COUNCIL—IN THE TRIBUNATE—COMPLETED
IN THE SENATE—NAPOLÉON'S NAME TO THE
CROWN—SIRE—DIGNITIES—ANECDOTES—AUTHOR'S
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CONVERSATION—KINDNESS—PAST GRIEVANCES—
INTERVIEW WITH THE EMPEROR**

I HAVE all along stated, that the events, narrated in preceding chapters, either conduced or became subservient to the elevation of Bonaparte to the imperial throne. Revert we now to the progress and proceedings of this most important consummation, which have in some degree been anticipated, that the foregoing details might be kept together.

For a long time, the agents of government had been trained throughout France to demand for the First Consul, in name of the people, that which the people were far from desiring, but which Bonaparte wished to assume under show of according to the

general inclination,—the sovereign power, without restrictions, limits, or subterfuge of denomination. A conspiracy against his life was not an opportunity ■■ he omitted; but, on the contrary, ■■ eagerly laid hold of by ■■ ■■ authorities, civil, military, and ecclesiastic: a ■■ and most abundant shower ■■ addresses, congratulations, and rendering of thanks, ■■ ■■ Tuileries. Knowing what would prove ■■ pleasing ■■ their master, the greater part ■■ these addressers ■■ ■■ limit themselves to mere *renouveau*; they insinuated, more or less adroitly, that France called upon her glorious chief to place himself so high as to be beyond reach of any new attempt—to *consolidate his work*; which, being interpreted, implied, that ■■ should ■■ imperial and hereditary power.

Bonaparte, in this scene of the grand drama, played his part with his wonted superiority, suffering nothing to appear outwardly at first, leaving to others the care of preparatory measures. The Senate took unto itself the ■■ honours of precedence, in congratulating the Consul on his escape from "the daggers of England;" for so, in official parlance, had the imaginary conspiracy been designated: the Sen- ■■ besought the First Consul *not to defer finishing his work*. This address was presented only ■■ days ■■ ■■ of the Duke d'Enghien. Whether Bonaparte ■■ ■■ under compunctious visitings for a fruitless crime, and perceived the bad effect produced on the public mind by that catastrophe, or whether ■■ found the ■■ employed by the Se- ■■ somewhat ■■ vague, does not appear; but he allowed the ■■ to remain nearly a whole month without reply. When ■■ did answer, it was only to invite a clearer exposition ■■ sentiment. ■■ negotiations were secret; for Bonaparte liked publicity only in results. ■■ ■■ ■■ ■■ belonged ■■ initiative of all measures; and in the Tribunal the project ■■ ripening was proposed,

The tribune Cur   had the honour of first proposing the conversion of the Consular Republic into an Empire, and the elevation of Bonaparte to the title of Emperor, with hereditary right. Cur   developed his proposition in the meeting of the 30th April, which I present. He commenced, by exposing the miseries which had overwhelmed France, from the Constitutional Assembly, down to the Brumaire—a revelation which he justly characterised as a deliverance. He then passed in review the brilliant career of the present head of the Republic; he showed the gratitude of France; he showed that her flourishing condition depended on him:—“Let us haste, then, to demand the hereditary transmission of the supreme magistracy; for, in voting for an hereditary chief, as Pliny said to Trajan, we bar the return of a master. But, at the same time, let us give a great name to a great power; let us choose a title which, while it carries the idea of the highest civil functions, may recall glorious branches, and breathe no taint upon the sovereignty of the people. I can see, for the guardian of a national power, a title more befitting than the title of Emperor. If I signifies ‘victorious Consul,’ who better merits to receive it? which people, what armies, were ever more worthy that such should be the title of their chief? I move, therefore, that we transmit to the Senate our wishes, which are those of the whole nation, to the following effect:—

“I. Napoleon Bonaparte, actually Consul, be proclaimed Emperor, and, in this quality, continue to take upon him the government of the French Republic.

“II. The imperial dignity be hereditary in his family.

“III. That those of our institutions which are as yet but traced out, be definitely settled.”

Such was the apologetic harangue of Cur  ; and I beheld a crowd of the members of the Tribunate

eagerly pressing forward to have their names inscribed on the roll, each following with a speech more and more laudatory than that of the author, the proposer, of a motion so evidently emanating from him upon whom the ulterior effects would rest. There were no doubts on the complaisant part thus enacted by Curée, they would vanish before the fact, that, a few days previously, Bonaparte had taken care to have the whole proceedings rehearsed in a private sitting of the Council of State. About the middle of April, the assembly having met, as if for the ordinary despatch of business, Cambacérès entered, as First Consul, who was expected, and, as Second Consul, assumed the chair,—the councillors remarking, that his air was more solemn than usual, though he habitually affected a grave exterior. Regnault de St Jean d'Angely, a member of the Council, with whom, though not precisely connected, I had pretty intimate relations, informed me of all. "The First Consul," said he, speaking with the enthusiasm which he really then entertained, though he subsequently acknowledged having been deceived, "has convinced me, that he desires to place power only in order to render France great, free, and happy, and place her in security against faction. He desired me to take the lead in this matter before the Council; but I hesitated. After Cambacérès had given me to understand the object of the meeting, I retired, I frankly proposed the question, for which the members were then prepared, expressed in the following terms: 'Is it expedient to place the government of France upon the base of hereditary power?'" The proposer of this the fundamental question followed the subject with a long address, shewing, "from history, and from the present state of Europe, that an hereditary government alone promised security to the state, and happiness to the people." Regnault did not, however, conceal from me that this motion experienced considerable opposition, especially from

Berlier: "With hereditary succession," the latter, "there no longer remains to France any thing of that Republic, for whose sake she exhausted her treasury, and sacrificed millions of her people. Besides, I do not believe the French nation disposed to surrender what they still possess of a good so dearly purchased." Others spoke to the same purpose, but with less force; and finally, the partisans of hereditary power found themselves in a majority of twenty-seven, and resolved to present an address to the First Consul. The minority of seven, on the other hand, had prepared a counter address. To prevent this collision of opinion, Bonaparte, informed of all, gave the Council to understand, that he desired each member, individually, to send in his separate opinion. By a strange chance, it became Berlier's duty to present these separate overtures. Bonaparte received them after the most gracious fashion; and, among other things, assured the Council, that he sought hereditary power only for the greater good of France. "Never shall the citizens be my subjects, yet never shall the French people be less my people!"

Such had been the preliminaries in the Council of State regarding the proposition officially brought forward in the Tribune by Curée; but, after reflection, it was agreed, that, since all opposition would be useless, and perhaps might prove dangerous to its authors, the minority should accede to the majority: And so was arranged.

It had now become no longer necessary to keep the secret; the pear was ripe: the address of the Senate was accordingly published, forty days after date. In this, its first address, the Senate had taken for its text the events passing in France, and the intrigues abroad, especially those of Drake, an agent sent by England to Munich. This text, obscure in itself, naturally led the Senate to hint obscurely what they termed the wants of France. To give more solemnity to their proceedings, the

repaired in a body to the Tuileries, and Cambacérès, as president, pronounced the address. "On viewing," said this document, "those attempts from which Providence has saved the hero necessary to its designs, we are struck with one prime reflection, namely, that, by the destruction of the Consul, we meditated also the destruction of France. The English and the emigrants know your destiny involves that of the French people. Give us, then, institutions so combined, that their system may secure you. You inaugurate a new era, but you ought to render it immortal; splendour is nothing without duration. Great is your complete your work, by making it eternal as your glory! You rescued us from the chaos of the past, you fill our hearts with gratitude for the blessings of the present; guarantee to us the future!"

For nearly a month, already stated, this address remained unanswered. At length, Bonaparte replied to the Senate, at greater length than usual, and in substance as follows: "Your address has formed the object of my numerous meditations. You have declared the hereditary succession of the supreme magistracy to be necessary, in order to secure the French people against the plots of their enemies, and the agitations excited by ambitious rivals." Here it is very worthy of remark, that the expression "hereditary succession" had not been pronounced in the address. "Several of our institutions have, from time, appeared as you calculated to assure, without reversion, the triumph of equality, and of public liberty, and to offer to the nation, and to government, the twofold security required. We have always been guided by this great truth, that sovereignty resides in the French people, in such a way, that all,—all things, without exception,—should be made to work together in our interest, happiness, and glory of the nation. In proportion as I direct attention to our grand objects, I am the more

vinced of the truth of [] sentiments I have expressed [] you, and I feel more and more, that, in a conjuncture, [] is important, the counsels of your wisdom and your experience are needful [] confirm [] ideas. I invite you, then, to lay before me your [] and unreserved opinion."

This message to the Senate expressed the will of Napoleon. And that body, created for [] preservation of those institutions consecrated by [] constitution of the year VIII, [] no other [] than [] submit to intentions [] unequivocally manifested. Accordingly, a response was framed to [] above [] of which it could be deemed nothing more [] an amplified explanation. The grand principles [] here positively announced, "that hereditary government [] essential to [] happiness, glory, and prosperity of France; [] that such government could be confided only to Napoleon Bonaparte, and to his family." Still the [] affected, as Bonaparte had done in his message, [] season their reply with the high-sounding phrases of liberty and equality. That body had even what might be termed the audacity [] say, that the arrival of Bonaparte [] hereditary power would [] the liberty of the press,—a freedom which [] [] in such abhorrence, and without which, [] other liberties [] but vain illusions.

In all these proceedings, I believe the Senate to have been [] accomplices than dupe; for it was no longer possible to shut the eyes upon Bonaparte's ambition, and his design of establishing, for his own advantage, a power more absolute than had been even [] despotism of Louis XIV.

By [] reply of the Senate, [] [] important [] [] been effected: there remained little more [] ceremonies to regulate, and forms [] contrive. [] different arrangements occasioned a delay [] days. At length, on the [] May, NAPOLEON,

■ first time, was saluted ■ by his ex-colleague Cambacérés, ■ the head of ■ Senate, who ■ in ■ present the decree relative ■ the foundation of the empire. The interview took place ■ Cloud. This organic *senatusconsultum*, which changed entirely the ancient constitution, being read, ■ Emperor replied,—

"Whatever ■ conduces ■ the good of ■ country, is essentially interwoven with my happiness.

"I accept the title ■ you ■ to be ■ glory of the nation.

"I submit to the sanction of the people the law of ■ succession. I hope that France will ■ repent those honours with which she may surround my family.

"At all events, my spirit shall not abide with my posterity beyond that day on which they ■ to ■ the love and confidence of the great nation."

■ Senate, and its president, afterwards waited upon the Empress with congratulations; and thus ■ realised the prediction I ■ made to Josephine three years before, at Malmaison.

The first act of Bonaparte, now Emperor, on the very day of ■ elevation to the imperial throne, was to ■ Joseph to the dignity of Grand Elector, and Louis to that of Constable of the Empire; ■ with the title of Imperial Highness. On the same day, Cambacérés and Lebrun ■ appointed to the dignities of Arch-chancellor and Arch-treasurer of the Empire; and the first letter signed by Bonaparte ■ Emperor, and under the ■ Napoleon ■ the following:—

"Citizen-Consul Cambacérés, your title is to be changed: your functions ■ my confidence remain the ■ In the high dignity with which you ■ about to be invested, you will manifest, as in y ■ of Consul, the wisdom of your counsels, and ■

distinguished talents ■■■■ obtained for you so important a share in whatever of good I have been able to accomplish.

"I have, then, only ■■■■ desire from you, a continuance of the ■■■■ towards the state, ■■■■
■■■■ Given ■■■■ St Cloud, ■■■■ 28th Floreal,
year XII. NAPOLÉON."

■■■■ note, countersigned "By the Emperor—
■■■■ Marat," shews the art of Bonaparte in managing transactions. It is to the *Second* ■■■■ this letter ■■■■ addressed by the Emperor, and the republic ■■■■ dates ■■■■ preserved! Of the republic, there remained only these and the mendacious legend ■■■■ the ■■■■ of the coin!

On the morrow, the Emperor ■■■■ ■■■■ Paris, to hold ■■■■ grand levee at the Tuileries: he ■■■■ not the ■■■■ to withhold the enjoyments of that pageantry which his satiated pride drew from his new title. The assembly ■■■■ the ■■■■ brilliant and ■■■■ that had yet been known. Bessières presented an address, in ■■■■ of the guards, and the Emperor replied,—“I constantly behold, with increasing pleasure, my companions in arms, escaped from ■■■■ many dangers, and covered with honourable wounds. I ■■■■ experience ■■■■ feeling of satisfaction when I think, while viewing them ranged under their standards, that there is not ■■■■ battle, not ■■■■ combat for the last fifteen years, and in ■■■■ four quarters of ■■■■ globe, which has not, ■■■■ their ranks, witnesses and actors.” At the same time ■■■■ presented, by Louis Bonaparte, in the exercise of his functions ■■■■ Constable, all the generals and colonels then in Paris. ■■■■ ■■■■ few days every thing assumed ■■■■ aspect. Public admiration was loud; but, in secret, ■■■■ Parisians laughed ■■■■ somewhat ■■■■ forms ■■■■ ■■■■ courtiers. This ■■■■ sovereign displeasure ■■■■ Bonaparte, whose ear ■■■■ circumstance reached through the ■■■■ ■■■■ intentions possible, in

order that he might be cured of prepossessions in favour of the men of the old court.

Napoleon, staidous of giving every solemnity to his elevation, ordered that the Senate itself should publish and proclaim in Paris the decree which [redacted] imperial dynasty. This decree, which might have been termed the constitutional charter of the empire, consisted of 142 articles, ranged under [redacted] following heads:—1. The government of [redacted] republic [redacted] confided [redacted] an emperor, who [redacted] the title of Emperor of the French. 2. Succession hereditary. [redacted] The imperial family. 4. The Regency. 5. The grand dignitaries of the empire; namely, grand elector, arch-chancellor of the empire, arch-chancellor of state, arch-treasurer, constable, and high admiral. 6. The great officers of the empire. 7. Oaths. 8. The Senate. 9. Council of State. 10. Legislative Body. 11. Tribunats. 12. Electoral Colleges. 13. Supreme Imperial Court. 14. The Judiciary order. 15. Proclamations. 16. The imperial dignity hereditary in the descendants of Napoleon. This head [redacted] presented for the people's acceptance. By [redacted] of those unlucky coincidences which I have sometimes known to occasion much remark, the promulgation [redacted] this decree was fixed for Sunday, 11th Floréal: [redacted] [redacted] to be a festival [redacted] all Paris, while the unfortunate beings, accused of attempting the [redacted] of the [redacted] whom it profited, languished in the dungeons of the Temple.

From [redacted] day following [redacted] imperial accession of Bonaparte, the ancient formulas [redacted] re-established. [redacted] Emperor decided that the princes [redacted] princesses of [redacted] empire should bear the title of Imperial Highness; that his sisters should assume the same designation; [redacted] the grand dignitaries should [redacted] styled Serene Highness; [redacted] the princes and grand dignitaries should farther be addressed *Monseigneur*; the secretary of state should have the rank of minister; that ministers should retain the title of Excellency,

and be addressed Monseigneur in all petitions; the president of the should be styled Excellency.

At the same time, Napoleon nominated the marshals of the empire, and appointed that they should be Monsieur le Maréchal, in speaking, Monseigneur, in writing, to them. The following the of those children of the republic, transformed, the fiat of a brother in arms, into supports of empire:—Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Angereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefebvre, Perignon, Serrurier.*

It will have been remarked, that, in the list of dignities lavished by Bonaparte upon his family favourites, the of Lucien does not occur. The two brothers were no longer on good terms; not, been said, because Lucien wished, late the to play the part of republican, but because he refused to submit to the imperious commands of Napoleon, in a circumstance where Lucien's docility might have served the interests of his policy. In the committees preceding the grand change, it Lucien, but Joseph, who, to discover the state opinion, got a republican opposition, with skill sufficient to catch or two dupes. As Lucien, having in reality rendered great services to his brother, and appreciating himself those services beyond their value, he deemed no recompense less than an independent sufficient reward. Certain it is, that, during his sojourn in Madrid, he had carried his pretensions so high, as to attempt playing the agreeable of the Infantas of Spain. On this, various reports circulated, on which I place much reliance, never having been able to verify

* See Appendix, A. The four last named were members of Senate at the time of being advanced to the baton. implied the bearer to have held a command-in-chief. — *Times*.

I know [redacted] to this, that, Lucien's [redacted] being dead, Bonaparte thought of marrying him to a princess of Germany, in order [redacted] [redacted] commence with the [redacted] grand alliance. Lucien refused [redacted] [redacted] the views of Napoleon, and privately espoused the [redacted] of a broker, named, I believe, Jouberton, who, for convenience, had been [redacted] [redacted] the colonies, where he died a short [redacted] afterwards. When Bonaparte [redacted] informed of [redacted] marriage by the priest, who had been [redacted] for privately [redacted] the Hôtel de Brienne, he became furious, [redacted] from that moment resolved not [redacted] confer upon Lucien the title of French prince, on account of [redacted] he termed [redacted] *mésalliance*. [redacted] remained then only a senator; while brother Jerome, by following a quite opposite course, became a king. As to Lucien's republicanism, it survived [redacted] the 18th Brumaire; he [redacted] [redacted] shewn himself, as we have seen, the most strenuous advocate of hereditary right and the succession.

"I swear, upon my honour, to devote myself to [redacted] *service of the Republic*; to the preservation of [redacted] territory entire; to the defence of its government, [redacted] [redacted] laws, and of the rights which these have consecrated; to oppose, by every [redacted] which justice, reason, and the laws, authorize, all enterprises tending [redacted] establish feudality, [redacted] reproduce [redacted] [redacted] and qualities thereunto belonging; in fine, [redacted] assist, with all my power, in the maintenance of liberty and equality."

[redacted] oath [redacted] this?—The oath which every [redacted] of the Legion of Honour [redacted] taken [redacted] receiving [redacted] diploma. Did [redacted] of these ancient knights of the republic think of his oath when he aided [redacted] raise Napoleon to the imperial throne? All [redacted] false, [redacted] carried away by an unreflecting enthusiasm. [redacted] harangues which followed [redacted] elevation of [redacted] Bonaparte to [redacted] empire, lost at the time, through their very

multiplicity of laudatory accords, have now become curious monuments, which we read with a sort of surprise we regard the branches of the preceding events. We scarcely conceive reasonable men, in an enlightened age, could follow the follies of ancient Rome, when the people erected statues to Sejanus, afterwards broke them in pieces when overthrown. But reflection is mournful—where are the promises contained in these orations and in their replies?

To pass, however, these meretricious hyperboles, and the flatteries of his subjects, let us view the incredible sway exercised by Bonaparte, at the moment of founding the empire, those powers which he dared not openly declare against him. I have studied carefully the policy of Napoleon; it is actuated by one grand principle,—that all relations on a footing of equality between any other power and his own, could not be of long duration. To defer or fight the alternative presented to the powerful. Secondary powers were considered as feudatories merely of the French empire; and as they could not resist, they were taught at an early age to bend beneath the yoke. Could there be stronger evidence of this, than the Duke of Baden, far from receiving any apology for the violation of his territory, being obliged to publish a proclamation against emigrants, apparently dictated by violation?

But be just, and without always justifying Bonaparte, I must acknowledge, the intrigues which England fomented all over Europe, of which she excite the whole irritability of his empire. The grand object of these intrigues was Munich, and their conductor Drake, a minister plenipotentiary by Great Britain to the Bavarian court. Drake's intrigues and correspondence,—which latter was by the French government,—made a great noise at the time, and furnished one of the handles in the famous address of the Emperor. The correspondence

the prosecution against Georges and Moreau, but subsequently withdrawn, and a report thereon ordered to be made by the grand judge. The whole of these pieces proved, what Bonaparte well knew, that he had England his enemy; but, from their examination, I was satisfied that they contain nothing upon which to shake the belief that any attempt at assassination was authorized by the British government. Yet while Bonaparte communicated the Senate the report of the attorney-general, the minister for foreign affairs addressed a circular to each of the foreign ambassadors then in Paris, to the number of nineteen, with the intention of criminating Drake and his court, "as having been guilty of a prostitution of the most honourable office confided to man, without example in the history of civilized nations." To this circular, all the envoys, in their own, and in the name of their country, sent replies, testifying their abhorrence and indignation excited by the conduct of England, and the machinations of Drake. These replies were only five days posterior to the death of the Duke d'Enghien! Here I cannot help especially admiring the profound ability with which Bonaparte thus constrained all the representatives of the powers of Europe to present, officially, marks of interest in his person and government.*

The transactions of the Emperor, as already noticed, were those connected with the arrest and trial of the conspirators. On the 14th June, four days after the sentence of the court, the Emperor sent for me to St Cloud. So many great events, and so many tragic scenes had just passed, that I was by no means respecting the probable object of

* Was this to be attributed more to the ability of Bonaparte, or to the despicable pusillanimity of those powers, who seemed as if anxious to accept of any excuse for continuing on with a murderer?—*Translator.*

interview ■■■ third week of the empire. ■■■ I had ■■■ ■■■ good fortune ■■■ find my friend Rapp in attendance. "Tranquillize yourself; he ■■■ in good humour for the moment, and wants only to talk with you." ■■■ name being announced, ■■■ Emperor desired ■■■ to enter. After his pinch on the ear, and habitual questions,—“What say they? what ■■■ ■■■ women about? how are your children? how ■■■ you engaged?” &c. &c. ■■■ continued, “You attended Moreau’s trial?”—“Yes, sire; I have not missed ■■■ sitting.”—“There, now! Bourrienne, speak ■■■ me frankly; you think ■■■ innocent?”—“Yes, sire; at least I can ■■■ you, that nothing has transpired during the process by which he can be inculpated.”—“I know your opinion on that affair; Duroc reported your former remarks; ■■■ proved they were right; but could I have done otherwise? You heard, of course, of Bouvet de Lozier’s attempt ■■■ self-destruction. Real hastened, with ■■■ spread, ■■■ the Temple, in order to examine him. In his confession, he accused Moreau of having conferred with Pichegru. Real immediately informed me of this, and advised the arrest of Moreau; a proposal which he had previously made. At the first glance I ■■■ clearly into the affair, and gave a decided negative; but when afterwards Bouvet de Lozier ■■■ spoken out—(another blow)—what could I do? Could I allow him openly to conspire against my government? And how refuse credence to De Lozier’s declarations? Could I possibly foresee that he would formally deny them upon trial? ■■■ ■■■ chain of circumstances above human foresight; I was forced to consent to Moreau’s arrest, after proof received of his conferences with Pichegru. Has not England ■■■ assassins?”—“Sire,” ■■■ I, “permit ■■■ to recall ■■■ you the conversation which you ■■■ ■■■ my hearing with Mr Fox, ■■■ the end of which you ■■■ ■■■ me, ‘Bourrienne, I am very happy to ■■■

learned, from the mouth of a man of honour, "English government is incapable of abetting any attempt on my life. I love to esteem my enemies."—"Ah, bah! you are a simpleton! *Parbleu!* I say English minister sends for an assassin, and tells him, Hold, here is gold—there is a dagger—begone—murder the Consul. No; I do not believe. It is, nevertheless, true, all those who conspire against my government, from England, and receive English pay. Is this because I have retainers in London strike the head of government there? I make honourable warfare; I do not endeavour to stir up the ancient prejudices of the partizans of the Stuarts. Did Wright, a captain in the English navy, conduct the disembarkation of Georges and his accomplices at the port of Dieppe? Be assured, however, that, with the exception of certain grumblers, whom I could easily silence, the universal wish of France is on my side; opinion has, throughout, been for me; so I fear not to expose, to public investigation, these plots. The majority of those around me are of opinion, that the affair should be consigned to a military commission, by whom the accused would have been judged in twenty-four hours. I refused; it would have been said I was of opinion. I fear it not. Let them talk as much as they will, and welcome—provided they are careful not to hear; it is not for those personally connected with me to censure my conduct." Here I found it impossible to conceal a slight involuntary movement: the Emperor remarked, and rightly deeming nothing more than surprise, took me by the ear, saying, in the kindest tone, "Easy, my good fellow; that was intended for you."

"Apropos," resumed the Emperor, after a moment, "Know you, that to me is due the discovery of Pichegru in Paris? All were telling me, Pichegru is in Paris: Fouché, Real, every one sang me the

same song; but no one [redacted] give any proof. What a blockhead you are! [redacted] to Real; in the twinkling [redacted] eye [redacted] might know how the [redacted] lies. Pichegru has a brother, formerly a monk, living in Paris; seek out his lodging, [redacted] repair thither. If [redacted] not there, it will be a presumption that Pichegru is here; if, [redacted] the contrary, the [redacted] be [redacted] home, take him into custody: [redacted] is a simple man, and his first emotion will set you on the right track. Every thing fell out as I had foreseen. On seeing himself a prisoner, and without allowing even time for interrogation, [redacted] anticipated the question, asking, if it [redacted] possible that they could allege as a crime [redacted] having received his brother into [redacted] house? Thus there [redacted] no longer any doubt; [redacted] a caittiff, in whom Pichegru confided, came and told to the police the secret of his abode. What shocking degradation, to give up a friend for money!"

Afterwards, returning to Moreau, the Emperor conversed [redacted] great length about that general. "Moreau," said he, "has [redacted] good qualities, and is brave beyond all question; but he has more courage than energy: he is soft—indolent; at the army he lived [redacted] a packs; he [redacted] constantly smoking, almost always in bed, and liked good cheer too well. He [redacted] naturally talented, but too lazy to be instructed; he [redacted] reads; and, since he became tied to his wife's apron-strings, he is [redacted] longer a man: he [redacted] only through [redacted] eyes of [redacted] wife and mother-in-law, who, I have no doubt, have compromised him in all these late intrigues. Now, tell me, Bourrienne, is [redacted] not strange that I should have advised [redacted] marriage? I had been told Mademoiselle Hulot [redacted] a Creole, and conceived [redacted] would [redacted] in her another Josephine: I have been egregiously deceived. [redacted] is these spinsters who have removed him from [redacted]; [redacted] regret it, though [redacted] very much below [redacted] reputation. You may remember, [redacted] years ago, I [redacted] you Moreau would [redacted] day break his [redacted] against the gates of the Tuileries. He

has not failed to do so, and in his own fault; for, you can witness what I did in order to attach him to me. He returned only ingratitude; he has a hand in every manœuvre, blamed all my acts, turned into ridicule the Legion of Honour. Intriguing fools have put his name I am jealous of him: you know what I allude. You have seen, likewise, how much his reputation the work of the Directory, terrified my eyes in Italy, and desirous of having in the army a general who might balance my renown. I am on the throne—he is in a prison. From discontent revolt there is often but one step, especially when a man of soft character obeys the influence of coteries; so, when they told me, for the first time, that Moreau implicated in the conspiracy of Georges, my first impression was to believe the fact: still I hesitated to arrest him, and consented thereto only after consulting my Council. I placed before the members all the documents, desired them to be carefully examined, for that the affair was of no importance. I requested to be frankly informed if there existed against Moreau a capital charge. The imbeciles' reply was in the affirmative; I was not to believe it unanimous. Then I allowed the procedure to take its course—nothing else could be done. I need not tell you, Bourrienne, that never should the head of Moreau have fallen on a scaffold, most certainly it would have extended pardon: but I placed that stroke of a capital sentence, it would no longer have been dangerous, and his name would have ceased to be a standard for the enthusiasts of the republic, the fools of royalism. The Council raised doubts of Moreau's culpability, I would have sent for him, told him suspicion pressed heavy for him to live together, he would do well

* What a Council!—a Council wherein Mr Fouché, whose presence was alone sufficient to astound and confound.—*Author.*

the tour of Europe three years, under pretence of visiting the of battle in the late war, or, had he preferred an extraordinary mission, I would have intrusted with any one, given him any to any amount, time, that great master, would have arranged all. But these animals declared that he could not escape a capital condemnation, an evidently accomplice of the leader, and look you, they condemn me him. He has been some pilferer of handkerchiefs! What would you have me do?—Keep him in confinement? He would still be a rallying point. Let him sell his goods, and quit France. What should I do with him in the Temple? I have him there without him. Yet more,—were this the only grand fault into which they have led me!"—"Dire, how you have been deceived!"—"Oh! yes, I have been so, but I cannot do all with my own two eyes." Here I naturally expected all to the death of the Duke d'Enghien, but I was mistaken, the Emperor resumed on the subject of Moreau. "He is much deceived. He imagines I bear any ill will against him. On his arrest, I sent Lauriston to the Temple, an agent chosen on account of his gentle and consulting character, him I charged with a message for Moreau, that if he would merely having Pichegru, I would annul all proceedings to be quashed, so far as he was concerned. Instead of receiving as I ought this act of generosity, he replied with haughtiness, and, till Pichegru's capture, continued to enact the lofty character. After that event, his tone became very much lowered. They must be of a different stamp from Moreau who conspire against me. There is, for example, among the conspirators whom I regret—Georges. He has nerve, and, in my hands, would do great things. I have tried to gain him, pardon, a regiment—every thing has been offered, but in vain. Could he have been won over, I should, perhaps, have made him my aide-de-camp. An outcry might

have been raised, but that, by Jove, would have ■ no difference ■ me! But Georges refused; he is a bar of iron. What can I ■ in the ■?—He must ■dergo his fate, for he is dangerous; it is a necessity of my position. Let me make no examples, and forthwith England ejects upon me all the lees of emigration: but patience, patience! I have long ■ know how to ■ every agitator! In Georges, Moreau saw only a brutal soldier—I discover a very ■ ferent character. You may remember Rapp ■ the open door; I then did every thing ■ gain, and finally dismissed him, with advice ■ be quiet. ■ me, that when Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges met, they could come to no understanding, because Georges would act only for the Bourbons. Very well—he had ■ least ■ plan; Moreau had none. He would pull ■ down with nobody to put in my place. There ■ not even common ■ in that. Apropos, Bourrienne, did you see Corvisart?"—"Yes, sire,"—"Well!"—"■ his mission."—"And Desmaisons, you spoke to him?"—"Sire, I esteem M. Desmaisons too highly; I abstained from seeing him during the whole of the proceedings."—"Come, now, that is well—quite right. Be wise—discreet. I will take care of you." He then dismissed ■ in a ■ gracious manner, and retired into ■ cabinet.

The Emperor ■ retained ■ with him upwards of an hour. On leaving this audience, I passed through the saloon, and could remark, though the admirable institution of chamberlains had not yet been appointed, that the science of etiquette had already made great progress. On seeing me come out, Rapp said, "Surely he must have ■ a great many things to tell you?"—"Oh, yes; a few, but none of them bad;" and the length of my audience procured me a courtly salute from all around. I ■ confess, it would have been impossible ■ be better ■ with my reception than I myself was: to speak honestly, I b ■ to be

weary of idleness, and desired a place, of which I stood in need, after my losses and the unjust resumptions which Bonaparte made of my property. Two years before I was in a different plight; let me see how he then behaved. During the month which followed my unaccepted resignation, it was proposed to me to purchase a large house at St Cloud. Notwithstanding its delightful situation, I judged it unsuitable to my fortune and my tastes, while the interior would require expensive repairs. Bonaparte, learning that my wife did every thing in her power to dissuade me from the purchase, desired me to go round with us. I was charmed—treated my wife as one of her equals in opposing the purchase—and, when reminded of the expense, replied, "Ah, I shall settle all that." On our return to Malmaison, she praised the house so much to Bonaparte, that he said, "Well, then, Bourrienne, why not purchase, since the price is reasonable, 60,000 francs, (£2500;) for, when we are at St Cloud, a great many people will come from Paris, and you may keep a second table." The house, upon this, was bought; 20,000 francs did not make it habitable; it was to be furnished. At this time Bonaparte urged on the repairs at the palace—he wished to be established there; and, as I found it fatiguing to go twice or thrice a-day from St Cloud to Ruel, I got into my new purchase with the workmen about me. Scarcely had I been there eight days, when, as we have seen, Bonaparte declared he had no farther need of my services. My wife went to pay her adieux, whom he entertained with my good qualities, and the prospects of my view for the future. "I am the youngest of the three; I shall not be able to replace your husband. I am to travel for a month; let Bourrienne keep himself quiet till my return, and I will place him as he deserves, even in the most important post of purpose." Bourrienne asked permission to have apartments in the Tuileries after her

confinement: "Keep them as long as you please; if I go to Paris, it will be in season." Bonaparte set out on his journey to [redacted]. I repaired, with my family, to the country, where [redacted] lived with a relative. The very day on which Bonaparte [redacted] expected, [redacted] returned to St Cloud, where he [redacted] been a quarter of an hour, till I received the orders with which the reader is acquainted, [redacted] give up the apartments in the Tuileries, and the furniture of Ruel: [redacted] left me not [redacted] the snuffers. He took possession, also, of my stables, and, finally, of my whole house, which, in fact, he regarded as [redacted] own, because he [redacted] recommended the purchase, though I paid the money. [redacted] ingulfed all. This continued four years. But, I must confess, that, on his return, he found his table loaded with reports, which made me act and speak in Paris in any way that suited; while I had not even a foot, nor held [redacted] tion with any one in it. My house at St Cloud, especially, excited envy. A thousand tales, each [redacted] ridiculous than the others, were invented, [redacted] the pretended luxury of this habitation, of which there had been barely time to furnish the first floor. One lady took upon her [redacted] Bonaparte, that the boudoir [redacted] enriched with precious stones, [redacted] the hangings bordered with fine pearls. To this absurdity he made reply, "Ah! madam, [redacted] you [redacted] of such monstrous doings that I shall no longer believe any thing."

[redacted] these vexatious recollections have withdrawn [redacted] from my subject. On leaving the presence of the Emperor, I repaired immediately to the apartments of the Empress, who, knowing that I [redacted] in the palace, had sent word for me to [redacted] before going away. Nothing could [redacted] more agreeable than such a command, for Josephine's reception [redacted] always so [redacted]. The splendour of her new title had wrought [redacted] change. We were left alone. After some remarks [redacted] recent events, I gave her a faithful account [redacted] our

about Moreau, and added, "I had once expected the Emperor to the d'Enghien." Bonaparte then replied,—"He has told you the exact truth respects Moreau. Bonaparte has been deceived in that affair, because, representing Moreau culpable, they thought pay him acceptable court. I am astonished at his silence about the Duke d'Enghien. speaks him seldom as possible, and then in a vague manner, and with repugnance. If you see Bonaparte again, take care not to bring him on that subject, and, should it chance that he himself propose the topic, avoid every thing resembling reproaches, he them, you will ruin yourself in his estimation,—and the evil, alas! is without remedy. When you came to see me at Malmaison, I told you I had vainly made every effort to recall him from his fatal purpose, and how he treated me. Since then, he has displayed, in the domestic circle, but brief intervals of good humour, it is only in presence of him that he affects calmness and serenity, and I see that he suffers more, in proportion the efforts he makes conceal his uneasiness. Apropos, I had almost forgotten to tell you, that he knew of your visit day after the catastrophe, I feared lest your enemies, who are, for the most part, also, should have represented it in an unfavourable light, but, happily, there was nothing of this. merely said,—"Thou hast Bourrienne: how he is"—always in a pet against me? I must, however, do something for him, I shall watch an opportunity." repeated the remark about three days ago, and, he has for you to-day, I doubt not he has something in—"—"Dare I ask you what it may be?"—"I know not as yet, recommend you double your prudence regarding the people you visit, he readily takes offence, and is so well informed of done or I have suffered much your visit. I ever bear in mind the cruel manner

MEMOIRS OF

which he repelled my entreaties. For several days I was in sad affliction: this irritated him the more, for he too well divined the cause. The title of Empress me not; from that surrounds I augur misfortune for him, for my children, and for myself. Wretches ought to be seen what they have driven him! That death! poisons my existence. I need not say, Bourrienne, that this is for your private ear."—"I hope you cannot doubt my discretion?"—"No; certainly not, Bourrienne; equals confidence; be assured I shall never forget what you have done for me, in various circumstances, nor the devotion you shewed returning from Egypt. Adieu, my friend! Let me see you soon."

Such the two audiences which I enjoyed on the same day, 14th June. Returning home, I passed three hours writing notes of what the Emperor and Empress said to me, of these the result I now laid before the reader.

CHAPTER II.

[REDACTED] OF [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] XVIII [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]
 PARKED—IMPERIAL [REDACTED] [REDACTED] OF HONOUR—
 INTERVIEW [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]
 —PREPARATIONS [REDACTED] [REDACTED] ENGLAND—[REDACTED]
 TARY FETE—HEROISM OF TWO [REDACTED] SAILORS—
 [REDACTED] A SOLDIER—TOUR [REDACTED] THE [REDACTED]
 HONOUR OF [REDACTED] POLITICS.

As [REDACTED] have already seen, the [REDACTED] of the consular constitution did not [REDACTED] the command of an army [REDACTED] the chief of the Republic beyond [REDACTED] territories. The subtilty of Bonaparte, [REDACTED] also explained, eluded this constitutional enactment, and Marengo [REDACTED] gained, accordingly, by an army of [REDACTED]! Such restraint [REDACTED] not imposed upon the Emperor—the organic decrees of the Senate put all this to rights; and, with that thirst of war which raged in the [REDACTED] of Napoleon, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] been conferred upon him [REDACTED] [REDACTED] which most flattered his pride, [REDACTED] restless imagination must have begun to nourish [REDACTED] projects [REDACTED] ambition and conquest, projects which [REDACTED] real [REDACTED] when [REDACTED] England contrived to regain an ally [REDACTED] the continent. From my knowledge [REDACTED] character, I do not think [REDACTED] put forth [REDACTED] supposition in saying, that he hastened, by [REDACTED] manœuvres, the moment which [REDACTED] to furnish [REDACTED] pretext for a continental war. A sovereign in his situation enjoyed immense advantages; restrained by no fears of [REDACTED] ting [REDACTED] self-love, nor trammelled by the interests, of another power, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] to submission, giving

■ ■ natural desire of superiority a greater amplitude, in proportion ■ ■ ■ held ■ ■ rank likely ■ be ■ ■ ■ state of things, Bonaparte, who, as perhaps I ■ ■ wrong in telling before now, ■ ■ ■ entertained a serious thought of attempting ■ descent upon England, converted ■ ■ ostensible object ■ ■ a pretext for concentrating imposing forces upon a single point, and completing the enthusiastic attachment ■ ■ of ■ ■ already devoted army.

Thus, at ■ ■ and the ■ ■ time, he attained two important measures, keeping in ■ state of alarm the rival whom he could ■ ■ otherwise reach, and of lulling into total security the only power which might still have dared to oppose obstacles ■ ■ his ambition. Thus Bonaparte played the world against itself, admitting ■ ■ into his confidence—not even his ministers; and such a combination might alone obtain for him, in my estimation, the palm among ■ ■ politicians of modern times.

Napoleon undoubtedly loved France, but he loved her ■ a means; she was in ■ eyes but a pedestal upon which to erect ■ ■ own proper greatness. To effect this erection, his ambition being now satisfied, ■ ■ had become indispensable. The title of Emperor established him upon the throne ■ the founder of a ■ ■ dynasty, thus giving him a stability which he ■ ■ till then not to have possessed; and his ■ ■ audacity proportionably increased. From Fouché himself I learned ■ very remarkable circumstance in support of what has just been stated:

Louis XVIII, being then ■ Warsaw, ■ ■ speedily informed of Bonaparte's elevation to the imperial dignity. More faithful to his rights, than the other sovereigns ■ ■ to his misfortunes, he addressed ■ ■ them ■ protest against ■ ■ usurpation of his throne. Fouché, having obtained ■ ■ earliest information of ■ ■ paper, went immediately to communicate the ■ ■ the Emperor. "Copies will ■ ■ ■ ■ in great numbers ■ ■ Pauxbourg ■ ■ Germain,

and dispersed among the enemies of government," the minister, "and I thought it my duty to inform your majesty, that you might give orders to Regnier and Real to prevent their circulation, which cannot but produce a bad effect"—"You may judge," continued Fouché, "what my prize, you who know how much the name of Bourbons disgusted alarmed him: He took the copy of the declaration which I had procured, read it, and, returning the paper, said to me,—'Ah! ah! the Count de Lulle is in his old pranks! Eh, well! all in very good time. My right is in the will of France, and while I have a sword, I am to that right. It is proper the Bourbons should know that I fear them not,—they may then rest in peace. Do you see the old women of the Faubourg St Germain are to take copies, and hawk about this production of the Count de Lulle,—ah! In Heaven's name let them read it at their leisure.' Fouché, send that to the *Moniteur*, let it be there to-morrow." This occurred on the 1st June. On the 6th did in fact appear the protestation of Louis XVIII, dated June 6th, as follows.—

"In assuming the title of Emperor, by desiring to render it hereditary in his family, Bonaparte has contrived to put the seal to his usurpation. This act of a revolution, in which all from the commencement has been null, doubtless cannot invalidate my claims. But, accountable for my conduct to all sovereigns, whose rights are not less threatened than mine, and whose thrones are shaken by the dangerous principles which the Senate of Paris has dared to publish, accountable to France, to my family, and to my honour,—I conceive I should betray the public by keeping silence on this subject. I declare then, having, on opportunity served, renewed my protestations against all those illegal acts, which, at the opening of the States General in France, have brought her to the frightful crisis

both France and Europe now find themselves plunged; I declare, in presence of all sovereigns, that, far from acknowledging the imperial title which Bonaparte has just caused to be conferred upon himself, by a body which has not even a legal existence, (the Senate,) I protest against that title, against all subsequent title to which it may give rise."*

Fouché exceedingly little whether the above was in Paris; he wished merely, on occasions, to convince the Emperor that he had better information than Regnier what was going forward; and Napoleon held proof of the grand judge's incapacity in Fouché of police. Fouché had long to tarry for his reward. Ten days after the publication of the protest, the Emperor wrote in very flattering terms to Regnier, announcing that, anxious to have the advantage of his undivided cares in the judiciary department, he had re-established a separate general police, and "praying" in his holy keeping.—21st Messidor, year XII, at St Cloud." The note, by the manner of gilding the pill to Regnier, puts in mind of the written to Berthier, depriving him of the ministry, and conferring the illusory command of the army of The conclusion presents an example of new progress in ancient forms; but does not "holy keeping!" contrast strangely with "21st Messidor, year XII!" The letter generally, too, belongs to the system pursued by Napoleon, in treating with respect his functionaries, in order to impress agents with becoming deference; but, knows, indemnified himself, when in private them with such liberality to fool, sot, imbecil, other such appellations!

* There was little to be feared from the publication of this injudicious document, which most unskillfully identifies Bonaparte with the national acts. There should carefully have been kept apart.—Translator.

The direction which Regnier allowed the affair of Georges to take in its principle, was the first which induced Bonaparte to re-establish the ministry of police, and to restore the man who contrived, by the accumulation of iniquities, to impress the necessity of recalling his office. I am certain, also, the Emperor was greatly swayed by the consideration, that a future war might oblige him to pass beyond the frontiers; and looking upon Fouché as abler than any other, to maintain public tranquillity in France, he found also, in his deeper implication in past measures, greater reason for trusting that he would watch carefully every plot which might be hatched in favour of the Bourbons. The truth is, that the ability of Fouché, chief of police, had become so proverbial; but I have proof that all the praises lavished on this account, were ridiculously exaggerated; spread by interest, they were repeated through folly. In my opinion, and that opinion is not founded upon simple presumptions, Fouché has always betrayed the parties to which he had professed attachment, whenever interest, his sole guide through life, counselled him so to do.

From the moment that Bonaparte launched his last stroke against the republic, which had, in fact, been but a shade after the Brumaire, he became easy to foresee, that the Bourbons would one day reascend the throne of their ancestors. This anticipation had, perhaps, not a little influenced the smallness of the number of opponents to the Empire, as compared with the adverse votes on the establishment of the Consulate for life. The step, of which others the most important for the Bourbons,—the re-erection of the throne, was already accomplished, and there, too, lay the main difficulty. Bonaparte undertook to remove this stumblingblock; and, as if by the waving of a magic wand, called forth, in the twinkling of an eye, the olden reign of its antiquated which

all had believed buried the ruins whelmed it by Revolution. Distinctions of rank, orders, titles, noblesse, decorations, all vanity; in short, all which vulgar are taught to regard as the indispensable of royalty, started up. From that hour, which became no longer a question respecting forms of government, but concerning the persons who should administer; when the ancient denominations were restored; when the men of Revolution had themselves trenchd upon the desecrated soil,—there no longer remained a doubt, that, an opportunity occurred, (and the chances of very numerous,) a majority of the nation would prefer the ancient royal house, to which it owed its civilisation, its grandeur, and its power, and under which the kingdom had attained to such a pitch of glory and prosperity. A nation, governed by laws in harmony with its rights and its wants, and which established in the land a real political liberty, would necessarily prefer the descendants of the great Henry to those of any other family,—especially a soldier of fortune, who sullied the glorious and restorative epoch of Brumaire by the assassination of a young prince of the royal blood, and who, on the throne, associated himself with regicides, and with the horror which they inspired.

Besides, there was a consideration of yet greater moment,—upon what base had he founded the empire? Upon immense glory, doubtless, but not upon institutions. The evanescent illusions of glory vanish away; what foundation, then, was the empire to repose?

It presented not of the least contradictions Napoleon's policy, to preserve, as the basis of his imperial epoch, the memory of the 14th July. This was precisely the anniversary of the republic, but it recalled the grand remembrances,—the taking of the Bastille, a day of fear; the First Federation, an era of unreflecting enthusiasm. The 14th falling

Saturday, the Emperor should celebrated on morrow, because it Sunday. This reminds me of a saying of Bonaparte, in reference to the concordat,—"What uneasiness," said he, "if I should worship, in that immense superfluity of holy-days which enjoins. These saints' days consecrated idleness, and I want of that; people require their labour in order to live, I want four days in the year, but not one more; if gentlemen from Rome are not satisfied with these, they may trudge." The loss of him so great a calamity, that he scarcely an indispensable solemnity day already devoted sacred purposes.

On Sunday, the 15th July, then, the Emperor had to exhibit, for the time, to the eyes of the Parisians, all the splendour of imperial pomp. At commencement, the members of the Legion of Honour, present in Paris, took the oath, conformably to the new formula. For the first time, there now appeared, so to speak, two distinct corteges; the Emperor's, and that of the Empress. When Bonaparte took possession of the Tuileries, he alone had been surrounded with scanty appurtenances of grandeur permitted by infant luxury, and Madame Bonaparte, nothing like the First Consul's wife, modestly conveyed herself thither, without parade and without attendance, and took her station, as already noticed, of the windows of the apartments of the Second Consul. Times had greatly altered. This was the imperial procession of the Empress, in carriages which traversed the gardens of the Tuileries, until then exclusively reserved for public; next, appeared military cavalcade of the Emperor, who desired to show himself horseback, surrounded by his generals, become of his empire. He de Segur had, by this, been appointed grand marshal of the

sequently took charge of the manoeuvres of etiquette. Conjointly with the governor, he received the Emperor at the entrance of the Hôtel of the Invalids. They, in like manner, conducted the Empress to a seat prepared for her, fronting the imperial throne, which Napoleon occupied alone, on the right of the altar. I was present, spite of my repugnance, to witness these brilliant juggleries; but, as Duroc had called upon me two days before with tickets of admission to a particular station, I dispensed with going, lest the searching eye of Bonaparte detect my absence, if Duroc had acted by his order.

I enjoyed my position, for at least an hour, in observing the haughty demeanour, sometimes indeed a little ludicrously overacted, of these grandees of the empire; I could mark all the evolutions of the clergy, who, with Belloy at their head, went to the Emperor on his entry into the church, no longer, as formerly, the temple of Mars. What strange reflections shot my mind, while beholding mine ancient comrade of Brienne, seated on an elevated throne, surrounded by the colonel-generals of his guard, the grand dignitaries of his crown, his ministers, his marshals! Involuntarily my cogitations reverted to the 19th Brumaire; and this majestic scene vanished away, when I thought of Bonaparte's stammering to such a degree that I was obliged to pull him by the coat, to warn him to withdraw. It was neither a spirit of enmity nor of jealousy which awakened these reflections; in any circumstance of our career would I ever have exchanged situations; but whoever has reflected — whoever has been present at the unexpected elevation of one, formerly but barely on a footing of equality, will probably conceive the strangely mingled medley of those emotions with which, for the first time, I was assailed on this occasion.

From this train of thought I was aroused by a murmur throughout the vast interior, on the termi-

nation of the religious ceremony; the church [redacted] [redacted], in [redacted] sort, the appearance of a profane temple. [redacted] [redacted] were more [redacted] the Emperor [redacted] the God of the Christians; and [redacted] fervour, therefore, equalled not their [redacted]. [redacted] had been listened to with indifference; but when M. de Lacépède, grand chancellor of the order, after pronouncing a laudatory harangue, [redacted] by summoning [redacted] grand officers of the Legion of Honour, Bonaparte assumed his hat, as [redacted] the ancient kings of France, when they held a court of Justice—a profound silence, a kind of religious awe, pervaded the assembly. [redacted] stammered [redacted] then, as [redacted] Council of Five Hundred, while enouncing with a firm voice, "Commanders, officers, legionaries, citizens, soldiers! You swear upon your honour to devote yourselves to the service of the empire; to the preservation of its territory in full integrity; to the defence of the Emperor, of the laws of the republic, and of the rights which these have consecrated; to combat, by all [redacted] which justice, reason, and the laws authorize, every enterprise which shall tend to re-establish the feudal system;—in fine, you swear to aid, with all your power, in the maintenance of liberty and equality, the prime basis of our institutions! Do you swear this?"

All the members of the Legion cried aloud, "I swear!" adding the exclamation, "Long live the Emperor!" with an enthusiasm impossible to describe, and [redacted] which the whole audience united. Yet what, [redacted] all, [redacted] [redacted] oath? [redacted] few [redacted] changes, that of the Legion of Honour, under [redacted] Consulate, with this exception, that the "Emperor" now took precedence of the "laws of the republic," and [redacted] such change [redacted] not merely a form. [redacted] was, besides, [redacted] [redacted] amusing, or even audacious, to dictate an [redacted] [redacted] the maintenance of equality, [redacted] [redacted] very [redacted] when so many of [redacted] titles and distinctions [redacted] monarchy [redacted] just been re-established.

Three days after this ceremony, as had been announced by the Emperor at its close, he set out for the camp at Boulogne, in order to distribute the decoration of the order among the members in the grand army there assembled. Availing myself of her invitation, I went to visit Josephine, at St Cloud, some days after Napoleon's departure. My visit was not expected: I found the Empress engaged with four or five ladies of the court, who were soon to take the title of ladies of honour, and ladies in waiting. The assembly, on my entrance, which immediately succeeded my announcement, seemed every one occupied with some of those brilliant gewgaws which the jeweller Leroi, and the famous Deshayes, furnished at such enormous prices. For of whatever painful reflections Josephine might be the victim, she was too much a woman not to contrive, even amid her sorrows, always to have some moments to spare for the affairs of the toilet.* On this occasion, the party was in deep divan upon the question of the dresses to be worn by the Empress in her tour through Belgium with Napoleon, whom she had appointed to meet at the Castle of Lacken, near Brussels. Notwithstanding the importance of discussions on the matter of sleeves, the shape of hats, and the colour of gowns, Josephine received me as usual, that is to say in her most gracious manner; but, not being conversant with French, said, quite simply, though in such a way, that I might understand the hint as an invitation, that she intended passing to-morrow forenoon at Malmaison. I soon after took leave; and about mid-day, the next morning, presented myself in the Empress's retreat, which I could behold without emotion; there, not a walk, scarcely a tree, was without its appropriate associations: all teemed with

* Was this not one of the secrets of her power over her husband; a secret which every married woman should treasure up, though her practice ought to be less expensive?

recollections of former confidential intercourse ; but how different the times, since I had assisted Bonaparte to calculate the rents !

Madame Bonaparte was walking in the garden with her favourite companion, Madame de Remusat, daughter of Vergennes, the minister of Louis XVI, in her service, though his name may, neither his honour, probity, nor devotion can be disputed. These ladies I met at the turning of the alley leading to Ruel. I paid my respects to Josephine, inquiring at the same time for his Majesty ; and never shall I forget to what touching expression she said, " Ah ! Bourrienne, for Heaven's sake, let me, at least here, to forget that I am Empress ! be always my friend." As Josephine had nothing to conceal from her companion, with the exception of certain domestic afflictions, of which, most probably, I was the sole confidant, we talked as if without witnesses. As may be supposed, too, we spoke of him who was the sole object of Josephine's thoughts. Her the habit had become so rooted, that she now frequently said he, that I need not explain that he implied Bonaparte.

After speaking of the journey into Belgium, which she contemplated, Josephine continued, — " How much is it to be regretted, Bourrienne, that past cannot be recalled ! He set out in the best disposition ; he has granted several pardons to the conspirators, and I thank him, for the moment, gratified by the good which he had it in his power to perform ; and, but for these wretched politics, I am certain he would have extended favour to a greater number. Recent events have been the cause of much sorrow ; but I constrained myself to conceal my griefs, because I have remarked that they displease him, and render him only the more gloomy. Now, in the midst of his army, he will forget every thing else. How great has been my affliction that I could not succeed in all the applications made through my

means? ■■■ excellent Madame de ■■■ all the way from Rommerville to St Cloud, to intercede for ■■■ Riviere, and the Polignacs. We contrived that ■■■ Polignac should obtain an audience. How very ■■■ is! Bonaparte ■■■ much ■■■ seeing her, ■■■ said, 'Madame, since ■■■ only my ■■■ life which your ■■■ would have attempted, I ■■■ pardon him' You, who know Aim, Bourrienne—you are aware that ■■■ is not a bad man, it is his counsellors and his sycophants that induce him to commit villainous ■■■ Rapp conducted himself in the ■■■ possible ■■■ he ■■■ the Emperor, and would not be refused till ■■■ obtained the pardon of another of ■■■ damned, whose ■■■ has escaped me [Runllon, I believe, the Empress here meant] How these brothers Polignac interested me! There are, at least, ■■■ families who ■■■ Aim gratitude! Let us endeavour, as far as we can, to forget the past, the future has sufficient of its own inquietudes for me! ■■■ assured, my dear Bourrienne, I ■■■ fail, during our tour in Belgium, to quicken the good intentions which I know him to entertain towards you, so ■■■ I certainly learn any thing, I will let you know. Adieu!"

■■■ the departure of the Emperor, ■■■ generally credited at Paris, that the distribution of the decorations of ■■■ Legion of Honour formed but a pretext, ■■■ ■■■ be realized the grand project of a descent on England. This ■■■ natural, from the extent of preparation both by ■■■ and land, along the coast, from Etaples to Ostend. The visit was, in fact, only a pretext—to excite still higher the enthusiastic attachment of ■■■ army, but the blow ■■■ struck in a different quarter.

Davoust ■■■ under ■■■ orders the ■■■ Dunkirk and Ostend; Ney commanded those of Calais and Montreuil, ■■■ general camp at Boulogne ■■■ superintended by Soult, Oudinot had replaced Marrou

Omer, and Marmont commanded the detachment the army cantoned on the frontiers of Holland, as also the Dutch marine, in app the transport of the French troops. This consisted of five hundred sail, under the orders of Admiral Verhuell; while in the single port of Boulogne were collected not less than eight or nine hundred vessels, without reckoning those in the ports of Etaples, Dunkirk, Wimereux, and Ambleteuse. The British united imposing forces in the Channel, and watched the French convoys, who themselves, when attacked, with an intrepidity doubtless by the presence of Bonaparte at Boulogne.

In constructing the Emperor's tent, a ruined tower, some traces of a Roman camp were discovered; this circumstance changed the name of the ruin from the Tower of Ordre to the Tower of Caesar, and was hailed by the army as a prognostic that Napoleon, like Caesar, would subdue Britain. In like manner, some coins of William the Conqueror, found in other excavations, and probably placed there on purpose, could not be of affording to the most incredulous the same demonstration. Not far from this Tower of Caesar, in a plain, assembled 25,000 men, from the camps of Boulogne and Montreuil, in order to give greater solemnity to the distribution of the crosses of honour. This plain I had formerly seen with Bonaparte, in his visit to the coast, prior to the Egyptian expedition. It was a natural amphitheatre, with a circular eminence at the centre. This elevation became the imperial throne, whence, surrounded by a numerous and most brilliant staff, the Emperor pronounced, with a loud voice, the same oath as at Paris, to the regiments, which, like rays from a centre of glory, were drawn up diverging from this station. The ceremony became the signal for one universal acclaim; and Rapp, speaking of this occurrence, told me, that never had he seen the Emperor more pleased. How could he

be otherwise? the very elements on that day seemed to obey him. A sudden storm arose, and apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the flotilla: he hastened to the port, and, as if by magic, the storm returned to the camp, resumed the military games, and in the evening an immense fire-work was displayed, which threw its column of light so high as to be distinctly perceived from the English shore.

He caressed, as he were, his soldiers, passing every day from six in the morning till twelve in reviews, and devoting the rest of his time to superintending the public works. During these reviews, he took the habit of inquiring of the officers, where the soldiers, where they had fought; and, when they received wounds, he gave them the prize. This reminds me of a proper opportunity to relate a singular quackery, to which the Emperor was indebted, and which contributed powerfully to inflame the enthusiasm of his troops—"Go," he would say, to one of his aides-de-camp, "and learn from the colonel of such a regiment, if he has in his corps a man who has served in the campaigns of Italy or Egypt; inform yourself of his name, country, family, of the actions in which he served; you will ascertain also his number in the rank, and his company,—and bring me word." The day of the review arrived; at one glance, Bonaparte singled out the man—went up, as if he recognized him, calling him by name,—“Ah! ah! so you are here; you are a brave fellow; you proved that at Aboukir. How is the old man your father? What! have you not got a cross? Hold, there is one for you.” Then the enchanted soldiers would say to each other, “The Emperor knows our families,—he knows us all,—he does not forget what we have done.” What a means was this by which to work up the soldiers to the persuasion, that they might one day be marshals of the empire!

Lauriston, anecdotes of visit
 Boulogne, the intrepidity two
 English sailors, which seems to have made a very
 strong impression upon the Emperor, for he has
 mentioned it again at St Helena. These two men
 been prisoners at Verdun, whence they
 escaped; and, notwithstanding the vigilance
 with which the English were watched, contrived
 to reach Boulogne. Here they remained for some
 time without money, without the of
 getting away; for they found it impossible to procure
 a boat, so scrupulously were the least embarkations
 examined. Our two constructed, with their
 own hands, a kind of cockboat, with of wood,
 which were joined together not so badly, consider-
 ing they no other instruments than their knives.
 This vessel they covered on the outside with
 sailcloth drawn over the bottom. only between
 three and four feet wide,—not much longer; and so
 light, that a could easily carry the on his
 To what will the love of home, and
 love of freedom animate! Sure of being shot if
 discovered, almost equally sure of being drowned
 should they put sea, they nevertheless hazarded
 the attempt of passing the Channel in their slip-
 bark. Having descried an English frigate in the
 offing, the fearless launched their skiff, and
 pushed after her. Scarcely had they advanced a
 quarter of a mile, when they perceived by the
 customhouse officers, who immediately gave chase,
 took, and brought them back, without their being
 offer slightest resistance. The incident
 quickly spread through camp, where its incre-
 dible daring the subject of general remark.
 The report reached the Emperor; desired to see
 adventurers; and they brought, with
 vessel, into presence. Napoleon, whose
 imagination captivated by whatever appeared
 extraordinary, could not but be astonished at

so bold a design, with such feeble means of execution. "Is it **really** true," demanded he of the man, "that you could have thought of crossing the **sea** in such a thing as this?"—"Ay, sire," replied they; "give us permission, and you **shall** soon see us depart."—"I will give permission; you are bold and enterprising, and I admire courage wherever it is found; but I will not let you expose your lives,—you **are** free; furthermore, I shall give orders to conduct you on board an English ship. On returning to your native land, say how highly I esteem brave men, even when **they are** my enemies."—"These poor fellows," continued Rapp, my informant, who, with Duroc, Lauriston, and others, was present, "remained speechless with joyful surprise at the generosity of the Emperor. Had they not been presented to him, they were just going to be shot, instead of which he gave them liberty, and presented each with several gold pieces."

Bonaparte, more **than** any other man, entertained a passion for contrasts, and reconciling inconsistencies. He delighted, **from** every thing, from his easy chair **at** St Cloud, to direct the affairs of war, and **to** dictate, from **his** camp, decrees relative to the civil administration. Thus, amidst the warlike **atmosphere** **of** Boulogne, he founded the decennial prizes, which he decreed should **be** distributed five years from that date, **on** the **day of** Brumaire—an innocent politeness this, towards the defunct republic; and **a** seeming extension of the republican calendar. All these **little** means, but great instruments in Bonaparte's theory of deceiving **the world**. From **that** place, too, **and** **at** **that** **time**, emanated from his own will and pleasure an order which destroyed the noblest institution of the republic,—the Polytechnic School,—by converting **it** into a military seminary. **He** knew, that **in** **that** **sanctuary** of lofty study, there reigned **a** spirit of republican liberty; and, in giving the same military **to** **the** **colleges**, academics, **and** institutions

of public instruction, like _____ rained _____
 - _____lity, while he deprived them _____ freedom, by _____
 dering them dependent on government.

At Boulogne, too, the pacific Joseph found himself
 transformed into a man of war, and invested with
 _____ of a regiment of dragoons. The _____
 rangement furnished matter of ridicule _____ many of
 the generals; _____ I remember Lannes saying to me
 _____ day, with his _____ frankness _____ downright
 energy, "Let him not place the scamp under my
 orders, for, by Jupiter, _____ the _____ blunder, I shall
 place him under arrest."

The Emperor's journey lasted three months. From
 Boulogne, leaving _____ astonished that the descent _____
 _____ taken place, he set out for Lachen, where the
 chateau had been fitted _____ with great magnificence;
 and here the Empress joined him; thence he _____
 tinued _____ progress along the Rhine, by Cologne,
 Coblenz, _____ Mayence. During _____ abode in the
 last mentioned city, the _____ _____ made
 towards negotiations for the journey of the Pope to
 Paris, in order _____ consecrate the _____ Emperor, and
 consolidate his power by the sanction of the Church.
 Caffarelli _____ charged with this mission; and, as a
 preparatory step, the eagle of the Legion of Honour
 had been sent to Caprara, with a letter written by
 the grand chancellor of _____ order, informing the
 cardinal-legate that he was the first foreigner invested
 with such insignia. Heaven knows to what _____
 _____ the sequel Napoleon exchanged _____ order with
 foreign sovereigns, princes, and their ministers, in the
 intervals _____ not engaged in exchanging cannon
 _____ with them.

In October, _____ Emperor returned to St Cloud. I
 might have added much _____ _____ now given of _____
 journey, but should only repeat enthusiasm, which
 _____ sometimes real, _____ _____ affected. I can-
 not, however, omit _____ _____ compliment of the
 prefect of Arras, who, _____ one of _____ harangues, said,

"God Bless Bonaparte, and rested!" This gave occasion to Louis, Count of Narbonne, to remark, "I had better have rested a season!" Count Narbonne had not yet been to the of the imperial courtiers.

I have previously spoken of the intrigues of Drake, I now remark, that, about epoch, the of October, the subject before the British Parliament, when the chancellor of the exchequer disavowed the proceedings of the English envoy at Munich. The chancellor affirmed, that no instructions had been given, any what-soever, to act in a manner contrary to the rights of nations; that neither he, nor any of his colleagues, had ever authorized a conduct which could compromise the honour of England, or put humanity to the blush.

It is my duty also to state, because I possess proof of fact, that all the correspondence which honourable men, the result of odious intrigues. Nothing of the would have occurred, but for the perfidious suggestions of the secret agents of the police, of whom Mehes de la Touche, a name disgracefully celebrated in the of espionage, was the chief. In support of this assertion, I may be permitted to state, that, in the course of six years, passed in Hamburg, as minister of France, I found myself placed in a situation to know every thing, and every person, connected with these I can, then, affirm, that, neither in the exercise of my public functions, nor in my private relations, I once see cause to admit a suspicion that the English government ever gave one plots, which dishonour equally those who contrive, and those who, with money, encourage them. I am assuredly here the apologist of England; but I am the advocate of truth. The English had recourse to all the means authorized by policy and diplomatic practice, in order to combat a vast and ambitious

genius, placed by fortune and glory at the head of a powerful and brave nation, and concealing but indifferently his designs on the Continent; to the force of his armies, they opposed the force of gold, and the weight of their subsidies drew to their alliance vacillating cabinets. These negotiations doubtless gave rise to secret intrigues, which morality would justly condemn in the intercourse of man with man, but such necessity of usage have nevertheless admitted in the intercourse of government with government. The interest of a country ought to be the guide of every legislature; and the English ministry would have been wanting in their duty, had they not endeavoured to oppose every obstacle to the spread of Bonaparte's ambition. The interest of the nation was the guide in the policy of Louis XIV; and the historians of that great monarch have not made it a subject of reproach, that he was the first to acknowledge the Protectorate; yet Cromwell was stained with the blood of Charles I, the son-in-law of Henry IV. Besides, the policy of Napoleon was much more opposed to the rights of nations than that of England. Not only had we seen him violate the territory of Baden, and carry off therefrom a young prince of France; we had not only seen him retain, as prisoners, private individuals, whom the confidence of peace had drawn within his reach; but, at the very moment while the Parliament of England discussed the question of Drake's correspondence, on 25th October, 1804, in virtue of an order from Napoleon, a detachment of French troops passed the Elbe, from Hanover, violated the independent territory of the republic of Hamburg, and made themselves masters of the person of the English minister, Mr. Rumbold, while residing in his country house near that city, forcing him to return to England, by demanding a promise that he would not leave Hamburg. Were such acts calculated to inspire confidence, or did they give a right to be scrupulous as to the conduct of others?

My whole intercourse with the English has led me in the opinion, that the profound ignorance by Bonaparte against them, the constancy of their opposition, the credulity of the multitude, have originated a crowd of accusations having no foundation in truth, and which merit not the slightest examination.

CHAPTER III.

ARMY — ROME — COMPLAISANCE — POPE — NAPOLEON'S RELIGION — ANECDOTES — POPE AND THE EMPEROR — PIUS VII. IN PARIS — BY THE EMPEROR — IMPORTANT AND CONVERSATION — BOURBONNE'S APPOINTMENT — OF ITALY — CORONATION AT MILAN,

ENGLAND was never more the dupe of Bonaparte than during the encampment at Boulogne. Believing in the attempt of a descent, she exhausted herself in providing the means of defence round her whole coast, lest she might be taken at any point unprovided. Such are the advantages possessed by the party acting on the offensive. But, though keeping herself on the defensive, she attempted several acts of hostility through the superiority of her marine, and command of the Channel. Fortune, however, seemed inclined to protect the plans of Napoleon; at least these attacks did us little injury; and, in spite of the rockets and infernal machines of Keith, which were reported to have wholly destroyed our flotilla, the English, in their enterprises, lost as many men as we did.

But Napoleon, then in the vigour of his genius and activity, had always his eyes fixed far from those things which surrounded him, and upon which his attention seemed to be bent. Thus, during the preceding journey, the object of which was to organize the territories on the Rhine, he had two

squadrons, ■■■ from Toulon, under Villeneuve, ■■■ other from Rochefort, commanded by Messiasy. ■■■ the operations of these ■■■ I have ■■■ to do; ■■■ the orders, thus given, obtained me an opportunity of seeing Lauriston, who, despatched by ■■■ Emperor, whom he accompanied in his progress, ■■■ assume the command of the troops ■■■ the squadron of Villeneuve, passed some days with ■■■ in Paris. I loved Lauriston very much, ■■■ we naturally held long conversations ■■■ the ■■■ the Emperor passed ■■■ time. "You cannot have an idea," ■■■ Lauriston to me, "of his vast activity, nor of the species of ■■■ which ■■■ presence produces upon the troops. But, more than ever, is he enraged against ■■■ contractors, and has been very ■■■ upon some." This gave ■■■ no surprise; I knew, of old, Bonaparte's sentiments on this point: he used to term these agents the "scourge and leprosy of armies," asseverating, that he never would raise one of them to honour, and that their aristocracy was to him the most insufferable of all. They were now no longer important personages: he ■■■ unfrequently proceeded with them in much the same sort of way as with the Boys of Egypt. When a contractor had become too rich, or when the origin of ■■■ fortune rendered him suspected, he was ordered to give in a report. Upon this, Bonaparte decided, in ■■■ arbitrary manner, whether prosecution ■■■ to be employed; in which case, he wrote under ■■■ report, "Remit to the minister of justice, who will take care to have the laws put in force." I ought, at the same time, to state, that one circumstance tended greatly to confirm Napoleon in this bad opinion of contractors, namely, that, in most cases, on being informed of the above, or similar marginal reference touching them, the hint sufficed to bring them to an arrangement with the treasury—to speak plainly, to disgorge two or three millions, under the title of a restitution. But, unfortunately, Bonaparte, extreme in all things, made no exceptions; and some men of

probity, as Collet and Carbounet, were thus nearly ruined.

Lauriston was the best of Napoleon's aides-de-camp, and he generally conversed on literary subjects. He had then left the Emperor and Empress at Aix-la-Chapelle; at Lacken, when on duty one day, he, Bonaparte for him, after the Empress retired to her apartment, and talked of the decennial prizes; of a tragedy, by Carion de Nizas, called "Peter the Great;" and of a new novel, by de Stael. "On this authoress," continued Lauriston, "and on her 'Delphini,' the Emperor several remarkable observations; among others, 'I despise masculine women as much as I despise effeminate men. All to their own parts in the world. What means this vagrancy of imagination?—what remains of it? Nothing. It is all the metaphysics of sentiment—a disorder of the fancy. I endure that woman, just because I detest women who throw themselves in my head—who make a noise, and, knows, her were broad enough in all conscience.'" I gave the words, as reported by Lauriston, they squared with my recollections of the manner in which Bonaparte had often spoken to myself of de Stael; and I had, besides, frequently witnessed her advances to the First Consul, and even to the Commander-in-chief of the army of Italy. Bonaparte had heard of Madame de Stael, only as being the daughter of Necker,—a man for whom he entertained very small esteem. The lady, too, knew nothing of him as yet, save from the reports of fame concerning his youthful conqueror of Italy, when she him in letters full of enthusiasm. Of these, Bonaparte would read aloud to me some snatches, then burst out a-laughing, and "Can you conceive, Bourrienne, such extravagance?—the certainly mad." I recollect, in of

these letters, Madame de Stael, among other things, said, they had been created for each other; that, through an error in human institutions, the mild and peaceful Josephine had been united with [] fate; that nature seemed to have destined a soul of fire, like hers, for the adoration of a hero [] him. All [] extravagances disgusted Bonaparte [] indescribable degree. On finishing the perusal of [] fine epistles, he either threw them [] the fire, [] crumpled them up and tore them with marked displeasure, observing [] me,—"Truly, indeed! [] female wit, [] manufacturer of sentiment, compare herself to Josephine! Bourrienne, [] [] condescend [] reply [] such letters!"

At the same time I witnessed what the p[] rance of a woman of spirit can accomplish. In spite of Bonaparte's prepossessions against [] [] Stael, and which were never removed, she contrived to get introduced to [] circles; and, if any thing could have disgusted [] [] flattery, it would have been the admiration, or, [] speak [] correctly, the species of worship, [] which she lavished upon him. She compared him to [] god descended upon [] earth,—a simile which, somewhat later, seemed to [] exclusively reserved for the [] of [] priests. Unfortunately, however, it appeared that no god could please Madame de Stael save Plutus; for, in military phrase, under cover of her eulogiums, she threw forward a claim of two millions, due, as she pretended, [] the good and loyal services of her father. Bonaparte, on this occasion, replied, that, whatever value he might attach to the suffrages of [] de Stael, he did not think himself authorized [] p[] chase them at so dear a rate, with the money of [] [] is well known, how the enthusiasm of this [] [] changed into hatred, and by what annoyances, unworthy of himself, Napoleon [] her, even in retirement at Copet. W[] [] things I have nothing [] do; since the circumstances []

me, as they did the public, by report: but of the early intercourse of Bonaparte and De Stael, I have now ~~renewed~~ what I know to be facts, ~~and~~ coming within the sphere of my personal knowledge.

The mission of Caffarelli, who had been despatched ~~to~~ feel the pulse of pontifical compliance, and ~~to~~ ~~endeavour~~ to induce the Holy Father to come to Paris and crown the Emperor, was successful. Caffarelli, whom I knew intimately, bore a striking ~~resemblance~~ to his brother, the general, who died in Egypt. ~~He~~ possessed the same delicate tact, the same pleasant humour, and pliancy of character. But, ~~the~~ truth, there existed, from the first, little doubt of ~~the~~ Pope's determination. Since the concordat, ~~and~~ ~~best~~ dispositions had reigned between the courts of Rome and Paris; ~~and~~ could Pius VII. have forgotten how much the success of the French arms in Italy had contributed to his own elevation. His election, in fact, had been so opposite to the wishes of the Aulic Council, that, the con-~~ference~~ having been held in Venice, Austria refused to the successor of St Peter a passage through her Italian states, and Pius was obliged to embark for Ancona. I ~~shall~~ hereafter speak of Bonaparte's ulterior conduct to the Head of the Church. His religious ideas have been already described, as consisting rather in a species of instinctive sentiment, than as being the result of a belief grounded on reason and reflection. Still he ~~attached~~ much importance to the power of the church; not that he feared it, far less could ~~he~~ have entered his head that a sovereign, wearing a crown and a sword, should kneel to a priest of Rome, or lower the sceptre to keys, nicknamed of St Peter. His was a mind far too masculine and too great for all this. But the alliance of the church with his authority, he deemed a happy influence by which to work upon the opinion of the people; and as one tie more for ensuring their attachment to a government thus legitimated by the ~~sanctions~~ sanctions of religion. On concluding the

concordat, he had said,—"I leave the generals the Republic cry out, as much as likes them, against the mass, but I know what I am about, I labour for the future." He was right, and now reaped the fruits of his own foresight.

As to the church, in placing upon the head of Napoleon the right of seniority which had been prudently conceded to the kings of France, she only renewed the action of Stephen III, when, nearly eleven centuries before, he consecrated, in France, Pepin the Short and his successors. Probably, too, the Romish clergy—good easy men—were beholding in their return of those golden days of the people's ignorance and the church's power, when kings were her vassals, and she enjoyed the monopoly of both worlds. At least, I recollect to have heard the Cardinal de Bayanne assert a very general sentiment among his cloth, that the consecration of Napoleon was an event extremely favourable to the power of the Papal See, since it proved that none other, save the Pope, could give a legitimate right to the kings of France. I was by no means of the same opinion with his Eminence, but certain it is that the consecration of Napoleon removed much of the religious scrupulosity entertained by those honest men who considered themselves still bound to the Most Christian King. Even in England, though no longer connected with the Romish Church, the arrival of the Pope in Paris produced perhaps a greater sensation than elsewhere, and I subsequently learned that the Cabinet of St James's, and Mr Pitt, were greatly moved, so justly did they appreciate the influence of this event in adding weight to the claims of the new sovereign.

When the Emperor understood that the Pope in Rome had been successful, of which he was informed while on his progress through the states of the Rhine, he lost some time in returning to St Cloud, in order to be present for the Pope's departure. He desired, without

delay, ■ have ■ sceptre of Charlemagne confirmed in his grasp, his right to which had already been acknowledged by all the powers of Europe, ■ exception of England. The Emperor of Germany had, at first, shown some hesitation in recognizing the Emperor of ■ French, waiting ■ know what part he of Russia would take, but, pressed by the necessity of declaring himself, he sent ■ acknowledgment of the Empire, assuming to himself the new title of Emperor of Austria. This determination of Francis, ■ all probability, was the result of information which ■ would not fail to reach him, that Napoleon had been visited, during his progress on the Rhine, by the majority of the Princes of the Holy Empire.

Orders had been given, in the mean time, that, everywhere throughout ■ French territories, the Pope should be received with the highest distinction, ■ and the Emperor himself, accompanied by the Empress, set forward ■ ■ Holy Father ■ Fontainebleau. From this chateau, ■ become, like all others, an imperial palace, and lately most splendidly refurnished, the Emperor advanced ■ the road ■ Nemours, when he learned, by the couriers, the ■ arrival of Pius VII. His object in this ■ to avoid the ceremonial which had been previously settled. Under pretence of the chase, he contrived, as if by chance, to be upon the road when the Pope's carriage passed. He dismounted from his horse, and Pius alighted from his travelling carriage. Rapp, who was present, described ■ me, with amusing originality, and in his German accent, this grand interview. "I think I still hear the comic recital of this independent Alsatian." "Figure to yourself," said he, "how this singular comedy ■ played. In order ■ they might be ■ footing of equality, the Emperor and ■ Pope, after properly hugging each other, got ■ the ■ vehicle, each by his own door, ■ as ■ ■ at ■ and the same time: all this had been arranged. ■ ■ ■ which followed, ■ Emperor

had taken [redacted] [redacted], so as quite naturally to find himself seated on the Pope's right; and all fell out as he [redacted]. As [redacted] the rest," added Rapp, "it must be owned that I have nowhere seen a better looking or [redacted] respectable old gentleman than [redacted] Holiness."

After [redacted] conference, at Fontainebleau, between the Pope and Napoleon, who, as we have seen, commenced their personal correspondence by the [redacted] of Christian Kings taking the precedence of the Head of [redacted] Church, by a subterfuge, Pius departed first for Paris. All the honours usually given to the Emperor were conferred upon him; [redacted] [redacted] lodged in the Pavilion of Flora. By a delicate attention, [redacted] Pope found [redacted] bedchamber arranged [redacted] furnished exactly [redacted] in his [redacted] palace [redacted] Monte Cavallo. His Holiness became the object of public respect, and of general solicitude. His presence in [redacted] furnished a singular contrast [redacted] the state of [redacted] capital, where, only four years before, every altar was still lying prostrate. I wished to see the old man, and had my desire gratified when he visited the imperial printing office, situated [redacted] the Bank of France now stands. The director of the establishment [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] be printed, in presence of his Holiness, a volume which [redacted] dedicated to him, namely, [redacted] *Pater*, in [redacted] hundred and fifty different languages.* Upon the occasion of this visit, the Pope made the remarkable observation which [redacted] well merits preservation: A young man kept his hat [redacted] in presence of the Holy Father; some persons, indignant [redacted] such [redacted] and ill-placed disrespect, went [redacted] pull [redacted] off, when the Pope, observing the disturbance, and having learned [redacted] [redacted] approached the young [redacted], [redacted] addressing [redacted] [redacted] a [redacted] truly patriarchal, said,

* There is to be seen, in the famous establishment of the printer Bodoni, at Parma, [redacted] Lord's Prayer, in one [redacted] and fifty-six different idioms; printed, I believe, in emulation of this imperial edition. — *Translator*.

"Young man, however, that I may give you my blessing; the benediction of age never yet did harm to any one." I remember well that the greater part of those present were deeply affected by this paternal allocution. Pius VII. possessed a figure of majestic and commanding respect; as may be proved, even to those who have not seen him, for he yet lives in the portrait from the pencil of David.*

The Pope arrived at Rome on the 10th of November; and no time was lost in preparing the solemnity which he brought thither. Two days after, that is to say, on the 1st of December, the Senate presented to the Emperor the result of the votes of the people, on the question of hereditary succession; and next day the consecration took place. It was pretended that the title of Emperor changed nothing of the republic, and that the succession of the dignity in one family was the only innovation introduced under the empire. On this question, therefore, Napoleon affected to demand the sanction of the people. Throughout the whole of France, then divided into one hundred and eight departments, sixty thousand registers had been opened. There had voted three millions five hundred and seventy-four thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight individual citizens, of whom, only two thousand five hundred and sixty-nine had given their voices against hereditary succession. I know that Napoleon caused the names of these opponents to be transmitted to him, and frequently consulted it. They were not royalists, but, for the most part, men and warm republicans; and, to my knowledge, many royalists abstained from voting, not wishing uselessly to compromise themselves, yet unwilling to give support to the author of the Duke d'Enghien's death. For myself, I gave my vote for the succession in

* There is but one, we will not say better, but more than equal, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, done at Rome, for his late Majesty.—See *Miscellany*, vol. xxxix.

Napoleon's family; my situation, may be conceived, not permitting me to be otherwise.

From the month of October, the Legislative Body had been convoked, to assist at the coronation of the Emperor; not only did the Deputies make their appearance, but swarms of the Presidents of Cantons attended, who occupied, without usurping it, a conspicuous place in the annals of ridicule for the year 1804. They became the subjects of all manner of witticisms, of every species of ludicrous squib. The necessity under which they laboured of wearing a sword, rendered them truly grotesque. All sorts of anecdotes were placed to their account, just ten years later, they christened the light horsemen of Louis XIV. Here I cannot resist the desire of inserting just one specimen, which, though probably an invention, appears to me really a capital story: One day, a certain number of presidents of the Legislative Body the honour of being presented to the Pope. As, generally speaking, these functionaries were by no means rich, it became necessary to unite a great spirit of economy with the exigencies of the papal etiquette; so, to avoid the expense of coach hire, they agreed to convey themselves to the Pavilion of Flora in gaiters, for protection to their white stockings against the inconvenient attachment of December mud. One of the party, preparatory to the introduction, stowed away, in his pocket, these habiliments of the nether world. But, in the story goes, it happened, that his Holiness received him with a very touching address. By this the pair of gaiters so melted, that, feeling for his handkerchief to clear his eyes, in the distraction of emotion, he pulled off his unfortunate overalls, and they were saved from the effects of his walk, he deliberately begrimed his entire viange. By this mode of reply, the president, in turn, so moved the Pope, that the Holy Father, forgetful of his

Should I be reproached for encumbering my pages with such puerility, I shelter myself under the fact ■ the Emperor's having been so ■ with the anecdote, true ■ false, that, ■ I learned from Michot, our old professor of declamation at Malmanson, he made him relate it to the Empress, after a private performance at court

"I ascend the throne, to which the voice of the Senate, the people, and the army, has called me, with my heart full of the sentiment of the mighty destroyers of that nation, which, from the midst of camps, I first saluted by the name of great

8. My descendants ~~shall~~ long preserve ~~the~~ throne.

- As magistrates, they will ever bear in mind, [REDACTED] contempt of the laws, and the confusion of social order, [REDACTED] be the result only of the weakness and the wavering of princes.

" You, senators, whose counsel and support have never [redacted] in the most [redacted] circumstances,—you will transmit your spirit to your successors. [redacted] ever the upholders and the nearest counsellors of that throne, so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire."²

The [redacted] waited also upon the Emperor with gratulations, but these were not honoured with a reply. Thus Napoleon [redacted] attained the height of his avowed ambition; but his ambition spurned limits, [redacted] the [redacted] the horizon recede before the traveller. [redacted] curious, however, [redacted] remark [redacted] strange coincidences, separated only by ten years. [redacted] Fontainebleau, [redacted] first bishop of [redacted] Christian church, who [redacted] consecrate, by the sanctions of religion, [redacted] assumption of the imperial crown: there, ten short years afterwards, he took leave of his army, bereft of crown—of empire—of wife and child. The [redacted] Senate which now complimented him—"and which [redacted] never been wanting in the most arduous circumstances"—then pronounced [redacted] forfeiture! But such inferences I leave [redacted] history; my humbler province [redacted] to trace recollections.

The reader will not expect me to detail the tedious ceremonial of [redacted] December, 1804. [redacted] world knows [redacted] the Pope repaired first [redacted] the [redacted] of [redacted] Dame, before [redacted] Emperor, and [redacted] a mule, [redacted] in front of the procession, according [redacted] usages of Rome so excited the laughter of the Parisians, as [redacted] Holy [redacted] passed, that the grave [redacted] of the coronation was not a little scandalized.†

² In the first sentence of this speech, there occurs an error in grammar, which seems an original not a typographical mistake.—*Translator.*

† "Where [redacted] devil [redacted] French [redacted] laugh?" [redacted] English traveller. "*Mais oui,*" interrupted a Frenchman, "but who the [redacted] dare laugh at them?"—"I," replied the former. "*ha! ha!*"—"Ma foi," observed the Gaul, "*ou vous êtes Anglais, ou vous êtes fou!*" (you [redacted] either English or mad.)—*Translator.*

It is equally well known, that the imperial cortège appeared resplendent with gold, plumes, and rich furniture of ■■■ houses; that the costumes dazzled the multitude, and for the first time pages were stuck round the imperial carriage. It is also matter of notoriety, ■■■ ■■■ interior ■■■ crowded with ■■■ audience in ■■■ dress, ■■■ with swords. The Emperor took the crown from the hand of the Pope, and placed it himself on his own head. Afterwards he crowned, in ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ adorable Josephine, from whose lips I subsequently learned, that the day of her coronation was one of the most sorrowful of her life. But, leaving all this to the respectable ■■■ of chamberlains and masters of ■■■ wardrobe, I prefer relating an anecdote little known, referring to this very day of the coronation, which ■■■ recounted to ■■■ by the Empress herself, and admirably paints the character of Napoleon.

Many years before, ■■■ the time when Bonaparte paid ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ to ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ Beauharnais, neither of the parties kept a carriage, and the general, who ■■■ most deeply ■■■ ■■■ of Josephine, often gave her his arm, while they made visits to her ■■■ ■■■ business. On ■■■ of these occasions, they ■■■ together ■■■ the notary Raquideau, one of the ■■■ remarkably little men I have seen since ■■■ Beauharnais, having great confidence in ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ writer, ■■■ ■■■ intentionally ■■■ the day in question, for the purpose of informing him of her resolution ■■■ take, for better and for worse, the young general of artillery—the protégé of Barras. Josephine alone had entered ■■■ cabinet, leaving the general ■■■ the office, where ■■■ clerks wrote. The door of Raquideau's private ■■■ having been ■■■ ajar, Bonaparte heard him very distinctly using all his endeavours ■■■ dissuade his client from the marriage she was about ■■■ contract. "You ■■■ very wrong," said he, ■■■ other things, "and will repeat your imprudence; you ■■■ going ■■■ marry a ■■■ who has nothing but

As [redacted] his sword."—"Bonaparte," continued the Empress, after having related the foregoing particulars, " [redacted] spoke [redacted] on this subject, [redacted] I the slightest suspicion that he had overheard the remarks of Raquideau; only think, therefore, [redacted] rienné, what [redacted] my astonishment, when, on the day of the coronation, in the imperial robes, he said, 'Call Raquideau; let him [redacted] here instantly; I [redacted] speak with him.' Raquideau [redacted] quickly brought into his presence, and he then asked him,— 'Well! now have I nothing but my cloak and my sword?' "

The fact is, Bonaparte, who, during [redacted] period of our intimacy, had recounted to me all the events of his life, [redacted] they occurred [redacted] memory, never [redacted] mentioned this little rebuff which his vanity had sustained in the [redacted] tary's office, and which [redacted] to have been forgotten till the day of the coronation.

On the morrow, all the troops then in Paris [redacted] assembled in the Champ-de-Mars, [redacted] deputations from the different arms of the service attended to assist at the distribution of the eagles, which [redacted] replace the republican colours. This spectacle I really enjoyed, for it was truly delightful to [redacted] Napoleon, in his uniform of a colonel of the guards, in the midst of his soldiers. An immense platform [redacted] been erected in front of the military school, which, though [redacted] transformed into a barrack, could [redacted] then have [redacted] to recall the singular associations of early youth; behind [redacted] be [redacted] the double throne of the Emperor and Empress. On a signal being given, the whole of the columns moved forward, and [redacted] "serried [redacted] surrounded [redacted] throne. Napoleon then [redacted] and pronounced, with a firm voice, the following words:—

"Soldiers! behold your standards! [redacted] eagles will [redacted] prove your rallying point; they [redacted] always be wherever your Emperor [redacted] judge their presence necessary for the defence of his throne, and of his

It is impossible to [redacted] the acclamations which [redacted] these words; and, as there [redacted] something seductive in popular enthusiasm, even [redacted] [redacted] could not help being carried away by the impulse of the moment. These various spectacles, the continued excitement which they produced, and [redacted] [redacted] the positive interests of [redacted] improving trade, rendered [redacted] the coronation very popular in [redacted] capital, and acquired more partisans to the Emperor, than opinion and reflection [redacted] could. For the preceding twelve years, the [redacted] of the interior had not been in so prosperous a condition. These circumstances rendered of little [redacted] no avail the "Reclamation" emitted by Louis XVIII, from "the bosom [redacted] of the Baltic," and dated, by a [redacted] singular coincidence, on the 2d December, from Calmar.

In these circumstances, the Emperor resolved on profiting by his own honours, which, till now, he affected to consider as incomplete, and to make an attempt to blind his enemies to his policy, or to induce an acknowledgment of equality, which, in either case, could not fail to be useful. He wrote to the King of England as follows:—

" Sir, my Brother,— Called to the throne of France by Providence, by the suffrages of the Senate, the people, and the army, my first desire is peace. France and England desire their prosperity. They may extend for ages. But do their respective governments

fulfil the most sacred of their duties? do they not feel the conscious accusation — much blood vainly shed, and without — the prospect of a close? I do not conceive — there is dishonour in proposing — advances. I believe it has been sufficiently proved to the world, that I dread none of the — war; besides, it offers nothing which I can fear. Peace is the wish of my heart; but war has never been adverse to my glory. I conjure your majesty — to refuse the happiness of giving peace to the world; bequeath not that grateful satisfaction to your children: for, in truth, never have occurred more favourable circumstances, nor — propitious — ment, for calming every passion, — listening solely — the sentiment of humanity and of — That — once lost, what term shall be — to — struggle which all my efforts have been unable to terminate? In the space of ten years, your majesty has gained more in wealth and territory than the extent — Europe comprehends: your people have attained the height of prosperity. What, then, has your majesty to hope from war? To form a coalition among some powers of the Continent?—The Continent will remain tranquil. A coalition — only increase the pre-
 derance and continental greatness — France. To renew internal troubles?—Times — no longer — To destroy our finances?—Resources founded on a prosperous agriculture are never to be destroyed. To deprive France of her colonies?—Colonies are to France — secondary objects; and does not your majesty already possess more than your power can protect? If your majesty will but consider, you — perceive that — is without object or presumable result for your majesty. Alas! what a — prospect, — keep nations — contention merely that they may contend! — world — sufficiently extensive for our — nations — live therein; and — has sufficient power — discover the means of conciliating all, were both parties animated by the spirit of reconciliation.

At all events, I have discharged a sacred duty, and one dear to my heart. Your majesty may rely on the sincerity of the sentiments now expressed, and on my desire to afford your majesty every proof of that sincerity."

This letter I can regard in no other light than as a masterpiece of perfidy; for, assuredly, Emperor would have been very sorry to have peace re-established between France and England, especially, since the war declared by Spain had placed at his disposal the Spanish fleet, consisting of sixty and odd ships of the line, commanded by Admiral Gravina.

The conduct of England, in this conjuncture, has always appeared to me only reprehensible,—so accordant with my principles is it, that all nations are bound to respect the right of neutral powers,—but a great political blunder. Better instructed concerning the secret desires of Bonaparte, the English cabinet would probably not have committed an egregious mistake, as to oblige, by unjust aggressions, a neutral state, such as Spain, to attach itself, by an offensive alliance, to the fortunes of Napoleon. What ever might have been deference, or, to speak more correctly, the submission of the of Madrid to that of the Tuileries, France alone was with England, while not ally, excepted, any demonstration of hostility; nothing, therefore, justified, or the interference of government with Spain. any previous declaration of Admiral insisted on right of searching four Spanish frigates, returning to with trea-lish commodore resisted these demands, and a combat ensued, in which, after an obstinate against a very superior force, three Spanish frigates struck, fourth blew up. These vexatious violences were not the only injuries

from English cruisers: they burned, the very harbours of the Peninsula, the Spanish merchantmen, and intercepted and captured various convoys, while the minister of that court, d'Anguade, still in London, an ambassador from Charles IV. These aggressions, opposed as they were to the independent rights of all nations, irritated to such a degree the King of Spain, or, to speak truly, the too famous Prince of Peace, that a declaration of war followed against England.

Bonaparte, in the midst of a magnificent given by the capital, and while his coronation was similarly celebrated throughout France, could feel but little impression from the official note transmitted by Lord Malmesbury to Talleyrand, in answer to the letter addressed to the King of England. This note recognised not the brotherhood which it pleased Napoleon claim with the majesty of England without his began, "the majesty has received the letter addressed by the of the French government;" and went on to state, "that nothing the majesty's heart than the restoration of peace his people; but that he declined to reply particularly without consulting the continental powers, especially the Emperor of Russia."

The year 1804, as we have seen, had been pregnant with great events. The machinations of the police; the culpable death of a young prince; the criminal prosecution terminating in many tions of illustrious victims, and in some acts of clemency, crowded into the former part: the portion been engrossed by the elevation of Bonaparte to the imperial throne; his journey through the new territories annexed to the empire; and, finally, by the most extraordinary, perhaps, in modern times, because carrying back to an epoch anterior to the ages of civilization, — the trial of the Pope in France to dispose, in name of the church, of a throne unoccupied, but vacant.

The eventful year terminated with the opening of the Legislative Assembly, by the new Emperor in person, whose speech on this occasion made a powerful impression throughout Europe, now appears too remarkable to be passed entirely in silence.

After mounting a magnificent throne, placed where the chair of the president had formerly stood, a new oath having been administered, Napoleon spoke as follows:—

“Gentlemen, Deputies of Departments, Legislative Assembly, Tribunes, and Members of my Council of State,—I proceed to open this your session. I would thus desire to impress upon your functions a character the most august and imposing. Prince, magistrates, soldiers, citizens,—all have, in our respective relations, but one aim,—the wellbeing of the country. If this throne, upon which Heaven and the will of the nation have seated me, be dear to my heart, it is because by this alone it be defended and preserved, the most sacred interests of the French people. Without a government, strong and paternal, France would have to dread a return of the evils which she has suffered. The weakness of the supreme power is the source of all calamities to a people. Soldier, First Consul, I cherished but one thought; Emperor, I have another,—the prosperity of France. I have been so happy as to adorn her illustrious by victories; to consolidate her power by treaties; to preserve her from civil disorder, and prepare the renewal of morals, of society, of religion. If death does not surprise me in the midst of my labours, I hope to leave to posterity a France which shall for ever stand as an example or a reproach to my successors. It would have afforded me pleasure, on this so solemn occasion, to behold peace reign throughout the world; to see the political principles of our enemies, our conduct towards

Spain, sufficiently expose the difficulty of this. I have no desire to augment the territory of France, but to maintain the integrity of her possessions. I cherish no ambition of exercising in Europe a greater influence; I will not resign that which I possess. No state shall be incorporated with the empire; but I will not resign my rights, nor the ties which connect us with those states which I have created." The Emperor's speech, delivered on the 27th December, was more than a display of politeness to the several bodies of the legislature, implying a conduct, such as they had ever maintained—in other words, submission to imperial will.

I turn now to matters of personal concern, although relating immediately to Napoleon. I mean my nomination to the office of Minister Plenipotentiary to the Dukes of Brunswick and Mecklenburg-Schwerin, the cities of the League, or, generally, the circle of Lower Saxony.

This nomination took place on the 22d of March, 1805, that day twelve months precisely from my visit to Josephine at Malmaison, after the death of the Duke d'Enghien: a singular coincidence of dates. The Empress, always excellent, ever mindful of her friends, had promised, as every reader is aware, of the Emperor's intentions in my behalf, and accordingly announced my nomination, by an express, and that I might expect an order to make my appearance in court. The very day on which I received this message from Josephine, arrived an official intimation to wait upon the Emperor next morning at Malmaison. I shall not attempt to conceal how much rather I preferred meeting him there than at the Tuileries, or even St Cloud. I had not seen him since my interview and conversation at Moreau; and the splendour of recent events was not calculated to encourage familiarity. The latter had left France; nor did the Emperor put in force

that part of the laws relative to the confiscation of property. Moreau was permitted to propose of his estate of Grosbois, which he sold to Berthier. I never have to speak of Moreau again after his return from America, and the second entanglement in those political manœuvres by which he was finally ruined. It may easily be imagined, that our former intimacies at Malmaison placed me much more at ease during an interview which, from my knowledge of Bonaparte's character, gave me always a little uneasiness. Was I to be received by my old companion of Brienne, or by his imperial majesty? It was the ancient college friend who received me.

Immediately on my arrival at Malmaison, I rushed into the alcoved apartment leading to the library. The devil of a man!—let me be excused the expression,—played the coquette in a manner that surprised even me, who knew him so well in his arts of seduction. He came up to me, and upon my lips, took my hand, a thing he had never done since the consulate, pressed it affectionately; it was impossible to see in him at this moment the Emperor of France, and the future King of Italy. Still I was too much upon my guard against the susceptibilities of his pride to permit my intimacy to exceed the bounds of affectionate respect. "My dear Bourrienne," thus he addressed me, "surely you do not think that my elevated rank to which I have attained can change me as respects you? No! The trappings of the Imperial do not constitute my value; but these are necessary for the people. I am the same in myself. I have been very well satisfied with your services, and have appointed you to a post where I shall have need of them: I know I can rely upon you." He then inquired about my family and my occupations with the most friendly interest: in short, I never saw him in a disposition so free, so frank, or exhibiting more of that captivating simplicity, which he displayed with greater frequency

in proportion to his greatness. "You know," added Napoleon, "that in eight days I set out for Italy; I myself king thereof; but that is only a stepping-stone: I have greater designs regarding Italy. It must become a kingdom comprizing all the Italian country from Venice to the maritime Alps. The union of Italy with France can be but transient: It is, however, necessary, in order to accustom the population of Italy to live under common laws. The Genoese, the Piedmontese, the Venetians, the Milanese, the Tuscans, the Romans, and the Neapolitans detest each other. Not one of them would acknowledge the superiority of the other; and yet Rome, by her associations, is the natural capital of Italy. To accomplish that, the power of the Pope must needs be restricted to affairs purely spiritual. I am not justly proud of accomplishing all this; but we shall see hereafter: I have as yet only crude ideas, but these will ripen with time; and then every thing depends on circumstances. What was it that told me, when we were strolling, like two idle fellows as we were, through the streets of Paris, that I should one day be master of France? My wish; but then a vague wish;—circumstances have done the rest. It is then wise to provide for what may come; and it is what I am doing. Regarding Italy, as it would be impossible to unite her at once into one power, yielding submission to uniform laws, I am proceeding by making her French. All these little good-for-nothing states will become provinces to live under the empire of the same laws; and when habits are formed, enmities extinct, then there will again be an Italy; and I shall restore her independence. For this, twenty years are requisite; and who can count upon the future? At this moment, Bourrienne, I take a pleasure in telling you these things; they were shut up in my thoughts; with you I think aloud."

I do not believe I have changed two words of what Bonaparte said to me on Italy, so interesting was the subject, such my habitude of retaining his words. After speaking of these vast projects, without any other [redacted] that produced by the crossing of [redacted] rapid ideas, Bonaparte continued, "Apropos, Bourrienne, [redacted] thing I must tell you! 'Do you know [redacted] requested me to pass through Brienne, and I have promised her: I do not conceal it from you. I anticipate great pleasure in revisiting [redacted] which, for six years, [redacted] the witnesses of our youthful sports." Seeing the kindly dispositions of the Emperor, I thought I might venture [redacted] say, how happy I should feel, in being permitted to accompany him, and participate in the emotions of [redacted] past; to recall on the spot our walks, our studies, and [redacted] recreations. Napoleon was silent for a moment, seeming to reflect; then, with an [redacted] of [redacted] kindness, replied, "Tell me, Bourrienne: In your situation and in mine, that [redacted] impossible. It is more than two years since our separation. What would be said of a reconciliation so sudden? I will frankly confess, that I regret you; and the circumstances in which I have frequently been placed, more than once inspired the idea of recalling you. At Boulogne, I had resolved upon it; my resolution [redacted] taken. [redacted] may have spoken to you on this subject; for [redacted] told me, with [redacted] the frankness of [redacted] nature, that your return would delight him. [redacted] reflection came; and, if I [redacted] carry out my intention, it [redacted] because, as I have repeated to you more [redacted] once, I will not that the world can say I have need of any [redacted] No! Go to Hamburg. I have designs upon Germany, in which you [redacted] very useful to me. There will I strike England to [redacted] heart. I shall shut [redacted] whole Continent against her. I have ideas, besides, [redacted] farther;—but [redacted] are [redacted] matured. [redacted] is not sufficient similarity [redacted] of Europe; European

society requires to be regenerated; there wants a superior power, which may so **■** **■** sway over **■** other powers, as to constrain them **■** live **■** good intelligence with each other; France is well placed **■** **■**. As **■** details, you **■** receive instructions from **■** yrand; but, what I commend to you, above **■** things, keep strict observance upon the emigrants. Woe to them, should they become **■** dangerous! I know there are still among them those who **■** **■** **■** quiet—certain of the old leaven of the Marquis de Versailles. They **■** fools, who **■** **■** moths **■** burn themselves **■** the candle. You have been an emigrant, Bourrienne; you have a weak side towards them! **■** you know I have recalled **■** **■** two hundred on your recommendation. But it is no longer the **■** thing. Those now in exile are confirmed; they no longer stand in need of revisiting their country. Keep good watch **■** these: that is the sole recommendation I have to give in particular. You are to be Minister of France **■** Hamburg; but your mission is one apart. I authorize you, in addition to the official correspondence with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to address myself directly, when you have any thing special **■** say, **■** **■**. You will correspond likewise with Fouché."

Here, **■** Emperor remaining for a **■** **■** silent, I conceived it proper to retire, and, misinterpreting **■** thought, **■** about to take leave, when he retained me, saying, in the most engaging manner, — "What, Bourrienne! going already? Why in such **■** hurry? Let **■** have a **■** **■** talk. **■** knows when **■** **■** **■** each other again! Listen!" **■** **■** he, after a few moments of silence, "the **■** **■** I **■** of our situation, of **■** former intimacy and separation, the **■** **■** I **■** convinced you **■** **■** go **■** Hamburg. Go there, my dear fellow, I advise you; rely upon it, you will **■** your advantage in so acting. When do you **■** out?" — "I reckon **■** departing in May." — "In May? Ah! ah!

I [] then be in Milan, for I shall remain some time in Turin : I love the Piedmontese ; they are the best soldiers in Italy."—"Sire, the King of Italy will be the junior of [] Emperor of the French." Here [] made allusion [] conversation which I [] [] with Napoleon when we first took up [] abode in the Tuileries. He was speaking of his projects of royalty ; and, [] [] my objection of the difficulty he would experience in getting himself acknowledged by the ancient reigning families in Europe, replied, "If that be all, I will dethrone every one of them [] then I shall be their senior!"—"Ah! ah!" answered he, "I [] you have not forgotten [] [] said [] you at the Tuileries ; but, my good friend, I have a devil of a long [] yet to make."—"At the rate you now proceed, the end cannot be far off."—"Farther than you imagine : I [] all the obstacles ; but they do not dismay me. England is every where, and the struggle is prepared for me : I see what will happen ; the whole of Europe will become our instruments, sometimes for the one, [] times for the other ; but, in the main, the question rests entirely between England and France."

"Apropos," said the Emperor, changing the subject—a word, as is well known, which served him for his favourite and almost only transition—"Apropos, Bourrienne, you have surely heard of the departure of Jaubert, and of his mission : what [] said?"—"Sire, I have heard only vague reports."—"Then you know not whither he is bound?"—"Pardon me, sire ; I know very well."—"The devil you do!" interrupted Bonaparte, turning abruptly towards me with astonishment. "No one, I [] you, has spoken [] [] the affair ; I have merely divined the object. Having received a letter from Jaubert from Leipsic, I recalled what your Majesty [] often [] regarding your views [] Persia and [] I have [] forgotten our conversations in [] East, [] grand projects [] developed when you

charmed ■■■ solitude, ■■■ sometimes ■■■ tedium,
 of ■■■ cabinet ■■■ Cairo. ■■■ I am convinced, then, you
 have sent him on a mission to the Shah of Persia."—
 "You have divined rightly; but ■■■ beseech you,
 Bourrienne, say nothing of it ■■■ any ■■■ The
 secret is of great importance at this stage. ■■■
 English would certainly play my messenger some
 scurvy trick; for they know ■■■ it is against their
 power and their possessions in these countries ■■■
 my views are directed."—"I think, sire, your Ma-
 jesty can depend upon me. In place of going to
 Hamburg, if your Majesty will, I shall ■■■ out after
 Jaubert, accompany him to Persia, and perform ■■■
 ■■■ mission."—"How! ■■■ you wish to ■■■ with
 him?"—"Yes, sire. I love him much; he ■■■ an
 excellent man; and I am certain he would not be
 sorry to have me as a companion."—"But—hem!—
 listen to me, Bourrienne! that perhaps might not be
 altogether ■■■ had a scheme; you know something of
 ■■■ East; are accustomed to the climate; and would
 be of service to Jaubert. Nevertheless—no—Jaubert
 must be by this a long way off; I fear you would not
 be able to overtake him; ■■■ then you have a large
 family. You will be more useful to ■■■ in Germany.
 Every thing considered, ■■■ to Hamburg; you know
 the country, and, what is better, are perfectly ■■■
 of the language."

I perceived that Bonaparte had still something
 to impart. As ■■■ continued walking ■■■ and down
 ■■■ alcoved saloon, he stopped ■■■ a sudden, and,
 regarding ■■■ with ■■■ expression almost of tenderness,
 said, "Now, Bourrienne, before I go into Italy, you
 ■■■ thus ■■■ oblige me. You sometimes visit ■■■
 wife; and that ■■■ well; it is quite proper; you have
 ■■■ long one of ■■■ family not to continue so.
 ■■■ her; endeavour once ■■■ induce her ■■■
 ■■■ on these her foolish expenses. Every
 day I hear ■■■ new extravagancies, and this really puts
 me to the torture. When I speak to her ■■■ the

subject, I get angry—speak harshly. She weeps; I excuse all—pay all. She makes the best of promises; but the very next day comes the same thing; and I have always I begin And, then—had she but given me a child! It is the torment of my life not to have a child. I perfectly comprehend my position; it never will be secure till I have offspring. Should I die, not one of my brothers is capable of succeeding me. All is commenced; nothing is completed; God knows what will be the issue. and Josephine; omit none of the advices I have given you." He then resumed the gaiety which had the former parts of conversation; for cloud driven by tempest not the vault of heaven with such rapidity ideas and sensations succeeded each other in the spirit of Napoleon. finally dismissed me, with the habitual nod; and, seeing him in good humour, I turned, in leaving the and said—"Well, sire, you are going hear the old bell Brienne; I wager you find the sound sweeter than the bells of Ruel."—"That's true; you are right: do not laugh at me;—come, good bye."

Such my recollections of an interview which lasted above an hour and a half. We walked whole time, for Bonaparte was indefatigable in these audiences, and would have walked a whole day, I believe, while conversing, without being sensible of the exertion. I left him, better satisfied than with my friendly reception; and, according to his desire, went up stairs to the apartments of Madame Bonaparte, which, in truth, previously been my intention.

I found Josephine with Rochefoucauld, an amiable woman, and lady of honour to the Empress. On stating that I had just left the Emperor, thinking, doubtless, I had something to communicate, she made a sign to her attendant, and we remained alone. I had no difficulty in bringing the conversation to the

subject on which Napoleon had spoken; for Josephine herself, without knowing, put me upon [redacted] track, by [redacted] speaking of a violent [redacted] which [redacted] [redacted] only two days before. "When I wrote yesterday," said she, "to inform you of your appointment, [redacted] that Bonaparte would require you, I hoped you would come [redacted] [redacted] on leaving him, but [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] would send us soon. Were you still with him, Bourrienne, you would persuade [redacted] to hear [redacted]. I know not who takes pleasure in carrying [redacted] reports; [redacted] really [redacted] believe there [redacted] people employed every where searching out my debts, in order to inform him." These complaints, so gently hinted by Josephine, rendered my mission less difficult than it otherwise might have been; which, notwithstanding, seemed but a sorry introduction to my new office of diplomatist. I related all the Emperor [redacted] said; reverted to the [redacted] [redacted] of the twelve [redacted] thousand francs arranged for half the sum, [redacted] ventured to allude [redacted] the promises then made. "What would you have me do?" [redacted] she; "is it my fault?" These words Josephine repeated with [redacted] [redacted] sincerity which rendered them touching at once, and comic. "People bring me fine things; shew them to me; extol their beauty: I buy; they [redacted] no money, and then demand payment when I have none: this reaches his ears, and he puts himself in a passion. When I do have money, Bourrienne, you know how I employ it; I give the greater part [redacted] [redacted] unfortunate who apply to me, and the poor emigrants. Come, now, I shall try to be more [redacted] [redacted] mical; [redacted] him [redacted] if you see him again. [redacted] is it [redacted] a part of my duty to give as much [redacted] possible—[redacted] do all the good I can?"—"Certainly, madam," replied I, "but permit [redacted] [redacted] say, nothing requires more discernment than properly to apply your bounties. [redacted] you passed your life upon a throne, you might have known whether your [redacted] [redacted] truly bestowed upon misfortune; but, as it is, you [redacted]

be ignorant that they are oftener the spoil of the intriguing than the portion of necessitous merit. I cannot dissemble that the Emperor was very much in [] when touching upon this subject, [] [] speak with you."—"Did he utter [] other reproach against me?"—"None, madam; you know [] influence you have [] him in every thing [] pertaining to politics; let me, as a sincere [] devoted friend, beseech you to give [] no more uneasiness on the subject of expense."—"Bourrienne, I promise you this. For the present, adieu, my friend!"

In relating [] Josephine what the Emperor [] stated to me, I had taken especial care not to touch upon a chord far more sensible, alas! than even the very distressing expostulations she had to undergo on the subject of her expenditure. The poor woman! I should have reduced her to despair, [] one word escaped [] touching the regrets expressed by Bonaparte at having [] child. On this subject, she [] ever cherished [] invincible presentiment of what would one day befall her. As to the rest, Josephine really spoke truth, when she said that it [] not her fault: order and economy, while I knew the two, [] incompatible with her disposition, [] moderation and patience with [] temperament of [] Napoleon. The sight of the least waste put [] beside himself; and [] species of emotion his wife rarely spared him. With what dissatisfaction, on the other hand, did [] view the greed of his own family for wealth! the more he heaped upon his relations, the [] insatiable [] their craving. With the exception of Louis, whose desires were always honourable, and his wishes moderate, all the [] importuned him with incessant demands. "Truly," he [] observed, "to hear [] people, [] would any I [] devoured [] inheritance of [] father!"

Voltaire has said—I forget in what place—"that it is very well kissing the feet of popes, provided that [] be tied." Bonaparte had little esteem []

Voltaire, ■■■ probably was ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ irreverent remark of the philosopher of last century ; ■■■ he seemed to construe the pleasantry seriously, ■■■ least to act ■■■ly upon the principle. The Pope, or ■■■ the cardinals who advised him, thinking that so great an act of complaisance as a journey to ■■■ ought ■■■ pay ■■■ more than ■■■ own ■■■ otherwise it was, in their opinion, thrown away, ■■■ as a recompense the restoration of Avignon ■■■ Bologna, with some other territories in Italy. This really was great awkwardness in a court whose policy is usually so fine and so well adapted to the occasion. To ask the reward after the service had been rendered !—the fable of the stork and the fox ! Had the Papal See, *before* the Pope's journey, asked, not Avignon, which most certainly it would not have got, but ■■■ Italian territories, Bonaparte might have given these—in order to take them back again. Be this ■■■ it may, those tardy claims, authoritatively rejected, occasioned ■■■ coldness between the Pope and ■■■ Church's eldest son : and the former, after conferring the title of Emperor of the French, refused the ■■■ consecration to the King of Italy.

As he had stated to me in the preceding interview, Napoleon ■■■ out for Milan just ■■■ days after, ■■■ of April, in order ■■■ the iron crown. The Pope remained ■■■ for ■■■ time ; and ■■■ prolonged presence ■■■ not without ■■■ on the spirits of men, when afterwards the times of ■■■ persecution arrived. ■■■ had been better for Bonaparte had Pius VII. ■■■ come to Paris ; for it subsequently became impossible to behold other ■■■ a victim in one whose truly evangelical meekness had there been appreciated.

Napoleon was in no haste to seize the ■■■ of Italy, because it could ■■■ escape him. ■■■ remained three weeks ■■■ Turin, where he inhabited ■■■ elegant palace of Stupinia, the St Cloud of the kings of Sardinia. Here he received the report from the camp

of Boulogne, and arranged his embarkation with such minuteness, that those who executed his orders were the first dupes. Here, too, he was residing when the Pope passed through Turin, and thither he took leave of his Holy Father, affecting the greatest deference in all the relations of personal intercourse. The Emperor set out for Alexandria, where he had already begun those immense works which absorbed so much treasure. After the battle of Marengo, he said one day to Berthier and me, "With Alexandria, I shall always be master of Italy. It shall become the first fortified place in the world, with a garrison of forty thousand men, and provisions for six months. The French troops, in case of revolts, or should the Austrians send formidable armies into Italy, will always find a refuge there; and wherever I am, that time will be sufficient for me to fall upon Italy, overwhelm the Austrians, and raise the siege of Alexandria."

So near the plain of Marengo, the Emperor did not fail to visit that celebrated field of battle;* and, to give greater solemnity to the occasion, passed in review thereon, all the French force then in Italy. Rapp afterwards told me, there had been brought from Paris, expressly for this purpose, the uniform and cockade which he wore on the day of that conflict. It was remarked, also, that the worms, who spare neither the costume of living kings, nor the bodies of deceased heroes, had been busy with the trophies of Marengo, which, nevertheless, Bonaparte wore at the review.

Thence, by Casal, he repaired to Milan, where a brilliant reception which had yet greeted any conqueror into the capital of Northern Italy, awaited him. In the month of May, 1805, Napoleon was crowned at Milan with the iron crown of the ancient

* The greater part of the battle ground is overlooked from the enormous ramparts of Alexandria. — Translator.

king of Lombardy, which, on some occasion, was drawn from the dust wherein it had reposed for ages.* The ceremony of this new consecration took place in the cathedral of Milan, next to St. Peter's the vastest interior of Italy. Upon this occasion, taking the iron crown from the hands of the Archbishop of Milan, Napoleon placed it upon his own head, calling aloud, "*Dieu me l'a donnée; gare à qui la touche,*" a remarkable expression afterwards the legend of the Order of the Iron Crown, founded by the Emperor in commemoration of this event.†

Milan, too, the last Doge of Genoa, M. Durasso, was to add was given more to the crown of Italy. His mission had for its ostensible object to supplicate the Emperor, in name of the republic, to permit the city of Genoa to exchange her independence for the signal honour of becoming a department of the French empire. The offer, as may well be conceived, was nothing but the result of previous intrigue, the whole being concerted beforehand. The prayer was accepted as a protecting air; and while the country of Andria Doria ceased from the list of nations, her duke, as representative, was flung back among the crowd of subjects. This city, so opulent, and proud of her ancient "superb," became the headquarters of the 27th military division. The Emperor went in person to take possession, and slept in the Doria Palace, in the bed whereon Charles V. had reposed centuries before.

Descending from these lofty reminiscences, I cannot omit the opportunity of setting to rights some of

* The iron crown, as it is called, is a plain circlet of gold covering a ring of iron, said to be composed of the nails of the Cross. The imperial crown was in the form of a garland of leaves, resembling those on the antique busts of the Cæsars. Its appearance was light and elegant. — *Translator*.

† The original exclamation was in Italian: "*Dio mi l'ha dato; guai a chi la tocca!*" — God hath given it me; woe to him that touches it! — *Ibid.*

██████████ inconceivable ██████████ into which Bonaparte, as ██████████ Helena, cannot have fallen otherwise than voluntarily. I find in the *Memorial*, that "the famous singer, ██████████ Grassini, first drew his attention at ██████████ coronation." Afterwards, Napoleon, I represented as saying, that ██████████ celebrated woman ██████████ him at this period; and he amused himself with putting into her mouth the following speech: "When I ██████████ the full splendour of my beauty and genius, I desired to gain but one look, nor was that wish gratified; and behold, you now regard me when I am no longer deserving of attention—when I am no more worthy of you." I confess my utter inability to explain, ██████████ conceive, what could have tempted Napoleon to invent such a fable. This I know, that in 1800, not 1805—before the battle of Marengo, not at the coronation—I have very frequently been one of three with Napoleon and Madame Grassini at supper, in the General's chamber; whereat I was not more amused than necessary. Another circumstance I also among my recollections, that when I awoke him on the night that information reached me of the capture of Genoa by the Austrians, Madame Grassini awoke likewise. But I write not for the lovers of ██████████ scandalous chronicle—only the whole is so ridiculous. My readers, too, will recollect, that I have permitted but ██████████ other revelation of the same kind to escape me; and then the liberation of a good-██████████d husband by ██████████ English, drew me ██████████ being a stratagem of ██████████ quite opposed to the ordinary character of ██████████ British gravity.

I continue my recital of the Italian journey, though, before the Emperor's return to Paris, I had already taken up my residence in Hamburg. Before leaving Milan, the Emperor caused to be erected on the Great St Bernard a ██████████ in commemoration of the victory of Marengo. M. Denon, who accompanied Napoleon, and who was always charged with the execution of such plans, subsequently ██████████ me,

that, after fruitless researches for the body of Desaix, in order to entomb it in this monument, the discovery was made by General Savary. It is certain that the ashes of the brave Desaix rest upon the summit of the Alps.

The Emperor arrived in Paris towards the end of June, and departed instantly for the camp at Boulogne. Then arose anew the belief of an immediate descent upon Britain; the more so, that Napoleon caused several essays of embarkation to be made under his own eye. But these led to nothing. A circumstance, which then occurred, furnished a fresh proof of the inferiority of our marine. A French squadron of fifteen sail, fell in with an English one under Admiral Calder of only nine ships; and in the engagement which ensued, which ought to have been favourable to us, we had the misfortune to lose two of our fleet. This new journey to the coast had then no connection with the project of invasion, of which Napoleon long foreseen, if not the impossibility, at least its inutility. The only object to show himself a second time as Emperor, with the same dignity as King of Italy, to his finest and best disciplined army which Europe for a long time beheld. He wished also, by empty successes against England, to inflame the enthusiasm of his soldiers, and to conceal the intention, that these armed masses had been organized in order to overrun Germany, and repel Russian forces already in march towards the frontiers of Austria. The passions and intrigues of these two powers, and certain other movements in the North, as we shall find, had not escaped the eagle glance of Napoleon amid the pomp and splendours of his coronation. We shall soon behold him fall like a meteor upon Germany, and render the Austrian monarchy by the day of Austerlitz, as in like manner the field of Marengo had hailed him victor of Italy.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON FOR THE
 YEAR 1807—FICCTIONS—JULIO, A SON OF THE
 EMPEROR

In the course of these memoirs, I have already mentioned some of the peculiarities of Bonaparte,—that of relating stories. This taste he continued to indulge. In fact, during the first years after his advancement to the imperial throne, Napoleon was accustomed to pass in the apartments of the Empress those evenings which he could gain from public affairs. Generally he threw himself upon a sofa, and, in this attitude, he absorbed in voluntary abstraction and sombre silence, which he had the hardihood to interrupt. Sometimes, on the contrary, he gave scope to his ardent imagination, and he spoke for hours marvellous; or rather, he spoke more exactly, in that necessity of creating effect, which, perhaps, was one of his dominant passions. On these occasions, he related narratives almost always of the terrible kind, and in harmony with his own ideas. The ladies of his suite were present at these recitals of the Emperor, and to one of them I told the following tale. In the midst of my serious avocations, as minister plenipotentiary at Hamburg, towards the end of September, I received a packet, with the post-mark of Strasburg, where the Emperor then was. The form differed from that of diplomatic despatches, and the Emperor shewed me immediately that it came from Josephine's establishment. On opening, I found the narrative, noted by my

correspondent [] the lips of Napoleon. "Never," [] the lady, in her letter, "had the Emperor appeared to me more extraordinary. Carried away by [] subject, he frequently traversed the apartment [] a rapid step; the intonations of [] voice varied according [] the personages whom he [] upon [] room; he seemed to multiply [] in order to represent all the parts, and no one needed to feign [] agitation [] wished [] inspire, and [] impression of [] upon [] pleased him." [] the style, I change nothing, as several persons [] attest, who, [] my knowledge, have copies. It is curious to compare the passionate part of the tale with the style of Napoleon, in certain of his letters, addressed to Josephine.

JULIO, A TALE.

Improvised by Napoleon.

There appeared [] Rome a mysterious being, who pretended [] unveil the [] of futurity, [] who was shrouded in such shadowy darkness that even its sex formed the subject of doubt and discussion. Some, while relating the singular predictions received from her mouth, described the forms and features of a woman; while others justified their terror by ascribing [] its object the aspect of a hideous []

In one of the suburbs of Rome, within the recesses of a deserted palace, this oracle had established a retreat, which superstition and its own awful nature sufficiently guarded from the effects of popular curiosity. None could assign the period of the [] of this singular being: in a word, whatever [] reference [] her existence was enveloped [] impenetrable secrecy. In the eternal city, the Sibyl, for such was the name fixed upon by common accord, furnished [] sole subject of conversation. All []

with a desire to consult her, but very few found courage to pass the threshold of her abode. On approaching to that fearful sanctuary, the greater part of whom curiosity had conducted thus far, were seized with a horror which they could refer only to a fearful presentiment, and fled, as if violently repelled by an invisible arm.

Camillo, a young Roman, of a noble family, resolved to visit the cave of the Sibyl, and prevailed upon Julio, his intimate friend, to accompany him in this adventure. The latter, of a timid and irresolute character, first refused: it was not the fear of unknown peril which caused this hesitation, but Julie shuddered at the idea of reading the salutary which concealed futurity. He yielded, notwithstanding, to the entreaties of

On the appointed day, they went together to the fatal palace. The gate opened, as if of its accord; the two friends entered, without trusting themselves to deliberate. After traversing for a long time the spacious but deserted apartments, they reached at length a gallery, closed by a black curtain, with this inscription: "*If you would know your destiny, pass this curtain, but prepare yourself by prayer.*" Julio experienced a violent agitation; he involuntarily fell upon his knees. Was he already under the influence of the mysterious power? After a lapse of some moments, the youths drew aside the curtain, unsheathed their swords, and penetrated into the sanctuary. They were met by a female; she was young, perhaps even beautiful; but her aspect defied and repelled examination: the cold calm of death, strangely mingling with the movement of life, formed the expression of her countenance. How find words to define or to portray those supernatural beings who, doubtless, inhabit regions where human language is unknown? Julio felt himself ready to sink, and turned away his eyes. Camillo, with downcast looks, waited till the Sibyl demanded

the nature of their visit, and then replied. But she heard him not. Her attention seemed wholly absorbed by Julio: agitated, trembling, she extended a hand towards him, as if to seize him; then suddenly started back. Camillo repeated his desire for her to reveal his fate; she consented, and Julio retired.

After a short conference with the Pythoness, Camillo rejoined his friend, whom he found plunged in deep thought. "Courage!" said he to him with a smile; "as for my part, I have learned nothing terrible. The Sibyl has promised that I shall espouse thy sister, Juliana, [this marriage had in fact been settled;] she merely added, that a slight accident will retard, for a short time, our union."

Julio, in turn, withdrew behind the fatal curtain, Camillo remained in the gallery. By and by a fearful cry pierced the ear: he recognized the voice of his friend, and rushed forward to his assistance. He fell on his knees before the prophetess, who, waving a wand above his head, pronounced these terrible words:—"Love without bounds! sacrilege! murder!" Camillo, seized with horror, approached Julio, whom he found pale, motionless, and unable to sustain himself. In vain he questioned; he could obtain no reply from his friend, who continued to repeat, with an accent of vague terror, the same words,—*"Murder! sacrilege!"**

Camillo, at length, accomplished the removal of Julio from his home, and the day he could no longer resist a pressure for leaving him, hastened from the dark dwelling of the Sibyl, resolved to force an explanation. But all was disappeared,—the curtain, the inscription; and the palace was in utter loneliness; nor did there remain one trace of the magician, who had returned more.

Weeks elapsed; day for day for Camillo's

* These words were pronounced with a deep and mournful accent by Napoleon. — *Author.*

nuptials been fixed, and Julio seemed to have recovered tranquillity. Camillo avoided interrogating him, hoping the terrific scene would gradually be from his memory. On the evening previous marriage, the Marquis Cosmo, Camillo's father, from his horse, and, though he received no serious injury, the accident caused the celebration of the nuptials deferred. Julia, Juliana, Camillo seated round the sick of Marquis, lamenting the which delayed their happiness, when Camillo, struck with a sudden recollection, exclaimed, — "The prediction of the Sibyl is accomplished!" All observed, that the remark threw Julia into the greatest agitation. From that he shut himself up in his apartment, shunning all society. The only one whose visits he admitted a venerable monk, who had been his tutor, and with whom he held long and mysterious conferences. Camillo no longer strove interview with his friend; for he perceived that Julia, above others, avoided him.

The day ardently at length arrived; Camillo and Juliana were united. But Julio did not appear; he quitted the paternal roof, and discover retreat unsuccessful. in despair; about a month afterwards he received following letter:—

"My Father,—Spare yourself unavailing search: my resolution is inflexible; nothing can change it. Dispose of your riches; Julio is the world. It pierced my heart to leave you, but I am constrained flee from a horrible destiny.

"Adieu! Forget the unhappy

JULIO."

The letter without date; the messenger unknown: he had appeared delivering it. The Marquis interrogated the monk, who could yet offer sole chance of recovering fugitive son;

but with him entreaties and menaces were equally vain: he could neither be persuaded nor intimidated. "I am not ignorant," replied he, "of your son's intentions. I long opposed them; but I was so firmly resolved, that I considered it my duty to yield. I know the place of his retirement; I have power to reach him, however, but I will not betray secrets intrusted under the sanctity of confession."

Julio then departed for Naples, and thence embarked for Messina, where he proposed entering into a Dominican monastery, recommended by his confessor. The superior of the house, a man of real piety, and a spirit enlightened, to take advantage of the troubled imagination of a young man, and Julio vainly supplicated to obtain a dispensation of the noviciate. He wished to be once fixed in his retreat; the superior was inexorable, and Julio underwent the usual trial of a year, through which he passed without even a lingering thought towards the world. He was under the empire of an awful superstition, he believed it impossible to escape his fate, and he embraced a monastic life. The remembrance of the Sibyl haunted his mind, and the words which she had applied to him, still sounded in his ears. "Love without bounds! sacrilege! murder!" The call appeared the only refuge capable of protecting him from love and crime. He said to himself, "if the walls, the vows, and the rules of a cloister, could shield me from his destiny!"

The year of the noviciate expired; Julio pronounced his vows; he believed himself happy; and, at least, experienced relief from the torments he had suffered. The thought of the sacrifice which he had just sealed, did not present itself, even for an instant,

* He was with an expression of profound conviction that Napoleon uttered this reflection, as he had applied to quite a different person than the hero of his narrative; then, seeing that his auditory betrayed the most anxious attention, he continued.—*Author.*

to trouble or to sadden his reflections. Yet, on the very evening of ~~the~~ ~~same~~ day, ~~at~~ the moment ~~of~~ retiring to his cell, he met one of ~~the~~ monks, who pressed his hand affectionately, and said to him, "Brother, it is for ever!" These words, "for ever!" appalled Julio. What marvellous power, ~~in~~ a ~~single~~ spirit, may reside ~~in~~ ~~a~~ single word! This expression seemed, for ~~the~~ first time, to disclose to Julio ~~the~~ extent of his sacrifice: he already regarded himself as ~~one~~ dead, for whom time no longer existed: he fell into a deep melancholy, and appeared to bear with pain the load of life.

Father Ambrosio beheld with compassion the young man's state; it sufficed him to know him unfortunate, to excite a tender interest in his favour, and he thought that occupation might win him from his sadness. Julio possessed great eloquence: Ambrosio named him preacher to the establishment. His reputation rapidly extended; crowds flocked to hear him. He was young and handsome, and, doubtless, the very mystery which hung over him lent an additional charm to his words. The time approached for celebrating a grand festival, at which the King of Naples and the whole court were to be present. Julio was selected to pronounce the eulogy of St Thomas, the patron of the monastery; and great preparations were made on the occasion. The day arrived: an immense crowd filled the church. Julio, with difficulty, was making his way through the people, to reach his station, when, in the midst of his efforts, the cowl fell from his head, leaving his face exposed. At that moment he heard a voice exclaim, "Great God, how beautiful he is!" Surprised, agitated, he turned involuntarily, and beheld a female, whose eyes were fixed upon him, with the most touching expression. That single glance sufficed to reverse the entire existence of these two beings. Julio, through the service; and, immediately finding himself at liberty, ran to the solitude of his cell;

no longer could [] [] up [] usual meditations. Pursued by the image of [] unknown; experiencing sentiments altogether [] [] troubled, disquieted, he [] no repose; yet [] existence had only begun from that [] in which the voice [] upon [] ear, in [] had penetrated [] heart. He dared not [] thought on the future. Alas! what could it avail him? [] destiny [] irrevocable. Every morning [] to [] mass, and every morning he remarked, [] place, a veiled female; he recognized her, but, [] time, dared not [] to wish to see her features, for he [] to forget her: such was [] duty. [] he permitted his eager gaze to fall upon the veil! he followed every motion of the wearer; he felt, [] to speak, the beatings of her heart, and his own responded [] them. Too weak to [] himself from danger, [] trembled at self-examination, and put away from him the truth. [] whole life [] reduced to [] few rapid []: during these he existed; all time besides became an absolute nothing. He determined [] flee from thoughts he could not subdue. "If she come again [] the church to-morrow," [] he [] length, "I will return there no [] Armed with [] resolution, he thought himself secure, and appeared [] experience [] tranquillity. On the morrow, [] repaired earlier than usual [] the church; she was not there. When all had retired, he approached the [] of the unknown, [] perceived her prayer-book; he seized and opened it, [] upon [] first [] the [] of Theresa. At length, then, he could call her by name—a thousand [] would he repeat that cherished [] "Theresa! Theresa!" murmured he with a low voice, [] dreading [] be overheard, although quite alone. [] she [] not, he no longer scrupled to [] church: but days [] weeks passed away, [] Theresa continued always absent.

Theresa, united to [] aged spouse, whom [] loved

as a parent, was happy in the fulfilment of her duties, nor thought of other happiness beyond what had fallen to her lot. She saw Julio, and the peace of her bosom was destroyed. The soul of Theresa was so ardent, that her first true sentiment needed no time to become of her whole life. She adored him. Until a critical moment, her husband had been the confidant of all her thoughts, but she never spoke to him of Julio. This mystery was painful to her, and a silent accusation in her own mind. She saw the danger she had avoided, and her courage to go on. In the hope of calming her own breast, she went to have a confession, and resolved, for this purpose, to return to the church of the Dominicans. She chose the hour when she knew Julio would be occupied: approaching the confessional, she there, on her knees, acknowledged all her feelings, since the period of the festival, the pleasure she had enjoyed in seeing Julio every day, the remorse which had troubled her felicity, and the courage with which she had renounced its indulgence: she feared that this strength would soon fail her. "What I do," exclaimed she, "take pity, O father, on a miserable sinner!" Her tears flowed in torrents, her agitation was extreme. Scarcely had she ceased speaking, when a threatening voice pronounced this sentence,—"Unhappy woman! How is this? sacrilege!" At these words Julio—for destiny had ordered that he should receive this avowal—rushed from the confessional. Theresa, on her knees, arrested his flight, laid hold of his robe, beseeching him to spare his malediction: she implored him in the name of his salvation—she implored him in the name of his love. Julio repulsed her but feebly. "Theresa," cried he in length, "quit this place, I feel my resolution failing." At these words, Theresa threw herself upon his breast, and encircled him with arms of her love. "Tell me," entreated she,

"oh tell me I am beloved, before I separate from thee!"

Julio, no longer master of himself, fearing to be thus surprised, returned for a moment her hand and pressed her to his heart; but again, as if with recollected production, he vowed to flee from her ever, and, without explanation, forced Theresa the same promise. Theresa, existing only in her attachment, and scarcely comprehending his words, yielded consent to all he imposed. What, indeed, imported language to her?—it sufficed him he loved her; and not of again beholding him?

Julio—alone—restored to reflection, shuddered to think of his imprudence, but it was too late to avoid the danger; he could not flee from his destiny. Already he was a prey to the love without limits, the sacrifice had already been committed. Had he not declared his passion, even in the very church wherein he had pronounced his vows of sanctity? But, at the same time, he had sworn to Theresa for ever. Strange infatuation of the human heart! That which ought to have been his punishment became his consolation. In this painful struggle, however, Julio found but an alternative of misery. Theresa was less afflicted: she was a shield against all the strokes of fate. With what delight she retraced the fleeting moments of their brief interview!—a single hour of such existence leaves more recollections than a whole life without love. She no longer remembered his promise to avoid Julio; she returned to the church, and to Julio; who, on his part, seemed also to have forgotten his oath.

The whole of existence was absorbed by his passion; and, when he looked upon Theresa, the entire world disappeared from before him. Even they abstained from conversing together. Julio, in the absence of Theresa, was tormented with bitter remorse; Theresa,

a single glance of hers recalled the fatal charm which held his soul enthralled. At length, he resolved to speak to her—to bid an eternal farewell.

There usually stood at the gate of the monastery, a poor woman and her child, who lived upon the alms of Theresa. The little Carlo often followed her, carried her book to church, and prayed by her side. Julia, who dared not trust himself to accost Theresa, bade Carlo to say, that Father Julio expected her for confession, at seven o'clock that evening. It was a day for Julio!—he trembled at the thought of being alone with Theresa. He feared that he might lack courage to bid her an eternal adieu: he could not repeat the words.—But he could write them. He decided, then, not to see her, and Carlo was charged with delivering a letter to her as she entered the church.

Theresa, on receiving the first message, felt a strange disorder. “What can he want?” sighed she; “were we not so happy!” She failed not, however, to repair to the church at the appointed hour. Carlo gave her the letter, she broke the seal with eager emotion, but how great her surprise on reading what Julio had written!—“Fly, imprudent woman, and come not again to sully the sanctity of this place! Banish a remembrance which stains the brightness of my life! I never loved you. I shall see you no more!”

This cruel declaration pierced the heart of Theresa. She might have struggled against her remorse, but she loved her no longer—he had never loved her! Her remorse was far less bitter than these words. She was attacked by a violent fever, her life was in danger. The name of Julio often rose to her lips; but love guarded its own secret, even in the midst of delirium—that name was never betrayed, only when in truth she murmured, in subdued accents, “I never loved you.”

Had Julio, meanwhile, recovered his tranquillity?

had he remorse? No, no. His life was a life of misery. After his declaration Theresa, who never loved her, he yielded to her passion. The sacrifice seemed sufficient, but terrible had been his effort of writing that letter! Oh! Theresa, couldst thou have known what it cost the unfortunate Julio, his grief would have been softened by his consciousness of his sufferings! Julio became a prey to the hopeless despondency. Three months had passed; oh! how heavily had they passed! yet no news of Theresa. Time went still more to increase his love, and more than ever he avoided human society. Under the pretence of ill health, he prevailed upon Father Ambrosio to dispense with all such duties as might lead him abroad. He remained constantly immured in his cell, or wandered all night amid the tombs of the adjoining cemetery; his energies yielding daily to the disorder of his sentiments, and leaving him courage neither to vanquish, nor to resign himself to, love. Above all were his sufferings from that suspense which he felt without remembrance, and without hope.

To the long illness of Theresa, succeeded a languor so alarming. She felt herself dying, and wished to fulfil her last duties of religion. Her husband, who loved her with tender attachment, saw but too well that some secret sorrow was hurrying her to the tomb; but respected her silence, and would not permit himself a single question. He requested Father Ambrosio, whose ministrations were held in great esteem, to visit Theresa. The good Father consented; but an unforeseen circumstance prevented the fulfilment of this promise. The superior directed Julio to take his place, and to repair to the house of Signor Vivaldi, the husband of Theresa, there to administer the balm of consolation to a departing spirit. Alas! Julio, himself a prey to the darkest despair, had only tears and grief, but no words of

consolation to impart. He desired, but in vain, to be excused; Ambrosio persisted in imposing this duty. Julio obeyed, ■■■ presented himself before Vivaldi's gate. ■■■ conducted into a chamber dimly lighted, where ■■■ circle of sorrowing ■■■ surrounded the couch of a female. On his arrival, ■■■ retired, respecting ■■■ sacredness of his functions; ■■■ Julio ■■■ alone ■■■ the patient.

Julio, under ■■■ undefinable emotion, remained motionless and irresolute. "My father," ■■■ dying penitent, "is there yet mercy in heaven ■■■ sinful woman?" Hardly ■■■ these words pronounced, when Julio ■■■ upon ■■■ knees by the ■■■ "Theresa! Theresa!" ■■■ ejaculated.—Who can describe the feelings of both? All explanation ■■■ useless; ■■■ mutually loved. Julio recounted ■■■ he had endured for her sake, ■■■ accused himself for ■■■ she had suffered. "Pardon! O pardon! Theresa!—Julio is thine for ever!" These tender words recalled Theresa to life; she could not speak, but ■■■ saw Julio—she heard him—she pressed his hand: To die thus seemed to her more delightful than life.

Julio folded her in his arms: how willingly would ■■■ have prolonged her days at the expense of his own. "Thou ■■■ live!—will it not be so? Thy friend is ■■■ thee! My Theresa, speak ■■■ me!—must I never ■■■ hear thee?" The sound of ■■■ voice seemed ■■■ recall strength to Theresa. "I love you, Julio—I love you," murmured she; ■■■ words contained ■■■ history of her whole life—what ■■■ of saying more?

■■■ of such an interview ■■■ rapidly away; the certainty of again meeting ■■■ have inspired them with courage ■■■ separate. ■■■ soon regained health; ■■■ saw her every day. A tranquil intimacy subsisted between them, ■■■ seemed ■■■ have forgotten his ■■■ and ■■■ remorse. Occupied entirely with Theresa, ■■■ tenderest interest the ■■■ of her recovery.

He dared not afflict her; he felt that her life depended upon him, and she interpreted this pretext as seeing her into a duty.

In the while, years elapsed since he had quitted Rome; the day of the anniversary of the fatal prediction having round, he sunk into a gloomy thoughtfulness. Theresa would know the source of his secret sadness; she had never questioned him; but now, bent on sharing his sorrows, she could allege a motive for being informèd of their cause. Julio related his interview with the Sibyl, and his flight from the paternal home. In the course of this recital, the horrible associations crowded on his remembrance, and he burst out, in accents of terror, "Love without bounds! sacrilege! murder!"

Theresa's emotion was extreme; but the words *Love without bounds*, threw a dangerous spell upon her heart and imagination; and when Julio dwelt upon the other terms of the prediction, she gently repeated, "Love without bounds,"—thinking them to calm their troubled minds; for, to her, love was all.

Sometimes, hurried away by the violence of his passion, Julio fixed upon her a gaze so ardent, that she dared not meet his look; she felt her heart palpitate, her whole frame tremble, and a perilous moment succeeded to these tumultuous emotions. Still were they happy; for they were as yet without guilt.

Julio now received an important mission from father Ambrosio, which would oblige him to be absent for some time. He had not the courage to bid adieu to Theresa, who wrote, promising a speedy return. Detained, however, by a thousand, to him, trivial obstacles, a long month and more elapsed before he could return to Messina. On his arrival, he hastened instantly to Theresa, whom he found alone, upon a terrace overlooking the sea. Never had she appeared to him so beautiful, so captivating. One moment he gazed upon her in ecstasy, but longer he could

refrain from the delight of speaking to her, and of listening to [] delicious charm of [] voice. He called her, [] started, beheld him, [] rushed [] his []. Yielding to [] tenderness, [] returned [] with transport; but, on a sudden, repelling [] from him, with horror, he fell upon his knees, remaining thus, with clasped hands, [] eye, [] trembling throughout [] whole frame. [] deadly paleness, [] bewildered expression, completed [] terrible effect of this scene upon Theresa.

She dared not approach him; and, for the first time, found herself incapable of participating in his emotion. "Theresa," repeated he at length, with a mournful accent, "we [] separate! thou knowest [] thou [] fear." Theresa scarcely heard him, but saw his agitation, and endeavoured to sooth [] feelings. He repelled her again. "In the [] of Heaven!" exclaimed he, "approach me not!" [] trembling and motionless; [] knew of love only from [] tenderness, and could not comprehend its [] emotions. Julio, impatient of her silence, started [] feet: "To-morrow," [] he, "my [] be decided;" he [] Theresa could reply. On the morrow, [] received the following billet:—

"Theresa, I can see you no more; I am unhappy [] in your society. I know you cannot [] what I feel. Theresa, thou must yield thyself wholly to me, but [] shall be the act of thine own will. Never could I take advantage of thy weakness. Yesterday thou [] it; I tore myself from [] for thou saidst not—I will [] thine. But think well of this; we are lost for ever. [] Theresa, eternal perdition! how terrible [] words! [] with thee, they would [] my happiness. [] us, [] more peace—death our [] resource—death even [] no longer a refuge for us! To-morrow, if you will see me again, ([] []

knowest ■ what price)—to-morrow send ■ to church. If he bring your prayer-book, Theresa, it will be to ■ a sign that thou hast renounced Julio; but, if ■ without that book—then thou art mine for ■ For ever! it ■ the language of eternity! how ■ to pronounce ■ word!—Adieu!”

Gentle and timid, Theresa was struck with affright on reading this letter. The words “eternal perdition” sounded to her like some fearful curse. “Julio,” cried she, “■ ■ happy! why could not our happiness suffice thee?” She knew not how to resolve: to see him no more was impossible; “and yet,” sighed she, “remorse will evermore pursue him. Oh! Julio, thou hast placed thy destiny in my hands: I will sacrifice myself—but save thee.” Carlo received orders to carry her book to church; he placed it upon the seat usually occupied by Theresa.

As to Julio, ■ of love—an ■ of remorse, had become ■ necessary to his morbid feelings; yet, notwithstanding the violence of his passion, he would not be the favoured lover of Theresa, ■ by her ■ voluntary attachment. Cruel through very weakness, he wished thus to throw upon her the whole responsibility of the ■. The church ■ been long deserted; Julio was waiting for Carlo: at length he beheld the messenger approach, ■ up to Theresa’s seat, and there lay down a book. He was no longer master of himself, but, rushing forward, seized and returned the volume to Carlo, with orders to carry it back ■ his mistress. Long he remained immovably fixed to ■ spot, where ■ had awaited the decision of his fate, and that of Theresa. At length, recovering from ■ stupor into ■ agitation of his thoughts had plunged him, “■ least,” murmured he, “I will see her once more.”

Carlo returned to Theresa, and restored the book,

saying, "Father Julio had [redacted] back. [redacted] was the emotion of [redacted] [redacted] knew by [redacted] [redacted] Julio would return;—and went to meet him [redacted] the same terrace where they had seen each other for [redacted] time.

At length he appeared; but grieved, depressed, [redacted] advancing with faltering step. Theresa [redacted] his inmost soul; she [redacted] trembled [redacted] the bare idea of [redacted] interview—had summoned up resolution to refuse it; but seeing the beloved of her heart so miserable, she no longer found courage [redacted] [redacted] console [redacted] wretchedness. No longer hesitating [redacted] trembling, she approached him, [redacted] [redacted] the confession—"Julio, I am thine!"

[Here occurred a sort of pause [redacted] silence, which it is impossible [redacted] represent on paper, otherwise than [redacted] by blanks. Of this species of interact, Napoleon took advantage to recover breath, before the catastrophe of the drama, and then resumed in these words]:—

A prey to remorse, Julio became sad and gloomy, even in the company of Theresa: the tenderest marks of affection had [redacted] longer power to move him. [redacted] while Theresa's love increased [redacted] by [redacted] [redacted] she had made. [redacted] sighed in secret [redacted] [redacted] change but [redacted] perceptible in Julio: she complained not, however, fearing [redacted] afflict him, and deluded herself with the hope of yet rendering him [redacted] happy that he should forget all save her.

Far from answering [redacted] [redacted] love, Julio accused her [redacted] the [redacted] of his misfortune. "Thou [redacted] seduced me—thou hast been my ruin!" thus would he exclaim; "but for thee, my soul had [redacted] [redacted] pure!" His visits became [redacted] and [redacted] frequent; then ceased altogether.

Theresa [redacted] to inquire [redacted] him; [redacted] constantly [redacted] church; wrote every day. [redacted] letters were returned unopened, and Julio [redacted] longer [redacted] [redacted] cell. [redacted] [redacted] become [redacted] that [redacted] [redacted]

him—should speak to him, and confide a new secret. Alas ! the secret of a mother ! What was to be her lot, should he thus persist in seducing her !

The following Sunday, Julie was to officiate at altar. Of Theresa was informed, and felt such an opportunity was not to be neglected. There was more than her own life at stake ; this thought her with strength and courage. An important object occupied absorbed her wholly. The days preceding anticipated interview with were devoted to preparation for the flight which meditated. The situation of the convent on the sea shore would facilitate this enterprise. As to the region whither they should direct their course, she thought of that for moment. Julio must decide ; for, except Julio, all else had become indifferent to Theresa.

hired a little bark, and arranged every thing with much secrecy and prudence, that her design was not even suspected. Her perturbation of mind secured her from the torment of contemplating the obstacles she might have to encounter. The day so impatiently expected arrived at length, and Theresa, shrouded in a long veil, placed herself the Julio unable to recognise her, though she every movement of his. the assembly dispersing, she glided behind a column, which he necessarily pass, in returning from the service. perceiving him approach, she too clearly discerned that he looked more than ever a prey to sorrow : were crossed upon his breast, his head drooped, his step was slow and dragging, like that of a criminal. Theresa beheld the effects of with deep emotion. She would have sacrificed her life to purchase his repose ; but there no longer existed the right to hesitate—the innocent being to whom she give birth, demanded of her a father. presented herself before Julio. “ Stop,” cried she, “ Julio, I must speak with you—and you must hear

me! I will not leave you, till you have given me the key of the garden of your monastery. It is it! Oh, Julio! I am no longer only I depend upon you!" At these words, Julio seemed to start as from some hideous dream: "Unfortunate woman," exclaimed he, "what sayest thou? Begone! fly from this place." But Theresa flung herself at his feet, and called Heaven to witness her resolve never to leave him till he had granted her request. All her efforts to escape were in vain; a supernatural force seemed to animate Theresa. "Swear to me," were her words, "that we shall also meet again, at midnight." Theresa reiterated these demands, Julio heard a slight noise: fearing discovery, he gave the key. "At midnight," was his sole reply; and they separated.

By midnight, Theresa had reached the garden. The night was dark; she dared not call, all should be disclosed. Soon she saw the steps of her approaching. It was Julio. "Wouldst thou?" inquired he; "speak! the moments are brief! Cease, I conjure you, to punish a wretch who can never render thee happy. Theresa, I love thee! without thee, life is an insupportable burden; and with thee, my sorrow is a burden greater than I can endure: it poisons even my sweetest moments. Thou hast increased my despair. How often have I accused thee! Pardon! pardon! my best beloved! it is just I should become the author of my own punishment. I have demanded thee: that sacrifice is the expiation of my crime." Theresa ceased to speak, overwhelmed by unutterable grief. Theresa sought to console him, by painting a happy futurity that lay before them. "Julio," she said, "had it been for mine own sake, I should not have dared to come hither in search of thee; but thee, I could have braved death; but the pledge of our love calls upon us to live. Come, then, Julio, let us depart! all is ready for our flight!"

Julio, suffering under inexpressible anguish, allowed

MEMOIRS OF

himself to be conducted for a space; a few minutes more, and they were to be united for ever—a few minutes more, and the path of innocence and happiness would be regained. But, all of a sudden, disengaging himself from Theresa's arms,—“No!” cried he; “never!”—and plunged a dagger to her heart.

[While pronouncing these words, Bonaparte approached the Empress, with the action of one who draws a poniard: the illusion was so powerful, some of the suite threw themselves between him and his wife, uttering a cry of terror. Bonaparte, like a consummate actor, continued his recital, without taking notice, or appearing to remark the effect he produced.]

She fell,—and Julia was covered with her blood. He stood motionless, as if rooted to the spot, contemplating his victim with benighted eyes. Day began to break, the bell of the monastery chimed the hour of morning prayer. Julia, starting at the sound, raised and consigned to the deep the lifeless form of her who had loved him with such devoted affection. Then, with precipitate step, and frantic mind, he rushed into the church. His robe dabbled with blood—the dagger still grasped in his hand—all denounced the murderer. He was immediately seized, without offering resistance—Julia disappeared for

[The Empress pressed the Emperor to add some details on the future of Julia. Napoleon briefly replied,—

“*The secrets of cloisters are impenetrable*”]

The history of Julia is not a fiction. Some time previous to the Revolution, an event nearly similar occurred in a monastery at Lyons. The

referring ■ ■ occurrence fell into Bonaparte's hands, and furnished him almost entirely with ■ circumstances and characters of his tale.

Often have I listened to similar recitals : on these occasions, ■ always had the apartment illuminated by a ■ light, in order to produce greater effect upon ■ of his auditors. When he thus gave ■ the impetuosity of his imagination, to such ■ degree ■ warmth of ■ accented declamation transport him, that all things around wholly disappeared, or took the colour of his own " thick-coming fancies." For my own part, I read the story ■ Julio with the ■ pleasure, that I could readily conceive ■ myself the tones of his voice—his utterance, at times difficult to be followed; the power of his expressive looks; and the action with which he accompanied these extempore recitations. I can assure my readers, that, above all, his was a case to which they might justly have applied the remark of *Æschines*, "What, then, would have been the effect had you heard himself!"

CHAPTER V.

THE [REDACTED] IN [REDACTED]
 BONAPARTE—BOURRIENNE [REDACTED] AT
 [REDACTED] DUTIES—POLITICAL [REDACTED] OF
 GERMANY—[REDACTED]—AUSTRIA—MANOEVRE—BER-
 NADOTTE—TREATY BETWEEN [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]
 —NEUTRALITY OF [REDACTED] VIOLATED—THE [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] JOINS THE GRAND [REDACTED]—[REDACTED]
 HIS DEPARTURE FROM PARIS—SINGULAR [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] AN OFFICER OF ARTILLERY—BONAPARTE'S MODE
 [REDACTED] INTERROGATING—[REDACTED]

As minister-plenipotentiary to one of the German circles, I found myself in the very centre of intrigue and military movement. [REDACTED] the reader will expect some account of my own proceedings, while I have several preparatory measures of importance to explain prior to the campaign of Austerlitz.

I [REDACTED] Paris on the 20th May, 1805; but, as the Emperor, in my audience of leave, [REDACTED] recommended me to communicate with Fouché, I had previously passed two days at his country seat. There being few visitors at Pont Carré, I had several private conversations of moment with that minister, in which I took care that he should be the chief speaker. Fouché [REDACTED] this in common with his master, that, [REDACTED] warmth of discourse, he allowed very imprudent disclosures to escape. In ordinary circumstances, however, this was attended with [REDACTED] inconvenience; for, [REDACTED] he enjoyed so great a reputation for duplicity, the very truth [REDACTED] [REDACTED] lips seemed one of [REDACTED] lures employed by [REDACTED] I knew this celebrated

personage sufficiently [] discriminate between stratagems and indiscretions, [] discovered, also, that the best way to draw him on was to let him talk without interruption. Our conversations naturally turned upon the events of 1804. Fouché [] great credit [] himself for having advised Napoleon to [] empire. "I attach no importance," continued he, "to any form of government [] than another: [] that signifies nothing. The object in [] Revolution [] the overthrow of the Bourbons; nothing [] first contemplated beyond [] reform of abuses, and the removal of prejudices; but, when it appeared that Louis XVI. had neither [] courage to refuse these demands, [] the good [] to grant what his weakness had led him to promise, it became evident that the Bourbons could no longer reign in France; and things reached such a pitch, that we [] constrained [] condemn Louis, and resort to energetic measures. You know what took place then, [] has ensued since the 18th Brumaire. We have now all seen that a republic is a thing impossible in France. Thus the whole reduced itself [] the question,—How are the Bourbons [] be kept at a distance from France—and for ever? and I conceive [] more likely to attain [] than disposing of their hereditary right [] the [] in favour of another family. Some time before the revolution of Brumaire, I [] a conference with Sieyès and Barras, in which it was agitated, whether, in [] of the Directory being menaced, the Duke of Orleans should not be recalled. I could easily perceive that Barras inclined to this opinion, from [] representing it only as a rumour, the progress [] which [] commended to my watchfulness: Sieyès said nothing. I cut all short by remarking, that [] such a report [] circulated, I must have known, and that [] restitution of the throne would be an impolitic act, which [] change only for [] the situation of those who had brought [] the

Revolution. Of [] interview [] I []
 [] to General Bonaparte, on [] conversing
 with [] after his [] from Egypt. I sounded,
 and found him, in the decrepitude of the Directory, the
 very man we wanted, and subsequently ordered the
 agency of [] police towards procuring his elevation
 to the chief magistracy. He speedily shewed himself
 ungrateful. Instead of yielding me his confidence,
 after having seconded him as I had done, he set himself
 to spinning fine, and gave, I know not to how many
 people, their petty policies, whose least [] was their
 uselessness. The majority of their agents were men
 at my beck, who obeyed my instructions in their
 reports; and then, a hundred times have I seen the
 First Consul quite elated with having made dis-
 coveries without me, which came only from me, and
 the absurdity of which I [] no difficulty in proving.
 I confess having been at [] in the affair of the 3d
 Nivose; but is there any human [] of preventing
 two men, without accomplices, from plotting between
 themselves and bringing a design into execution?
 You saw the Consul on his return from the opera;
 you heard his declamations. A secret instinct told
 me that the infernal machine [] the contrivance of
 [] royalists. This I explained to him privately; I
 am convinced, too, he was of the [] opinion: []
 theless, he persisted in condemning some hundred
 individuals, under the sole pretence of their old
 opinions. [] you suppose [] ignorant of what []
 [] respecting my vote [] the National Convention []
 On my word, it [] not his part to [] reflections
 upon the Convention; it was that vote which placed
 the [] upon his head. You must have remarked,
 [] the republicans, not the party of the Convention,
 [] in general [] opposed to the revolution []
 Brumaire. Witness Moreau and Bernadotte. I know
 [] the former [] opposed to the Consulate, []
 that weakness only induced him to accept []
 of the guard over the Directory. I know that []

even made an apology for his office to his prisoners; of this they themselves informed me!"

the conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru, Fouché continued thus. "It was I who hatched that conspiracy, in order to save my ministry, and to provide a solution for not having discovered the attempt of Nivose." He confirmed me fully in the correctness of the opinion already expressed on this subject, and the machinations at the commencement of the year. He congratulated himself in set terms on having tricked Regnier, and constrained Bonaparte to recall him to office. As a proof that he had put in movement the means of uniting the conspirators, rather of converting the discontented into conspirators, hear his own words: "Informed, as I was, of every thing, had I continued the ministry, it is probable that the conspiracy would not have had a head, but Bonaparte would still have had to fear the mishap of Moreau. He might not have been Emperor, and we should still have lived under the apprehension of the return of the Bourbons,—a catastrophe which, thank heaven, we no longer dread!"

These avowals of Fouché will surprise those who knew him. I have already said that he was naturally indiscreet—he trusted himself much too open after success. To draw him on, I confided the secret of being authorised to correspond directly with the Emperor, and thus took the merit of revealing, and of restoring confidence, what I was well assured he would discover by his agents. I said a few words, also, on the regrets expressed to me by Bonaparte on the subject of having no children. The object here was, to discover Fouché's real opinion. Deeply did I feel my indignation stirred by saying,—"It is to be wished the Empress might die: that would remove many difficulties. Later he will take a wife who will bring him children, for, so long as he is without an heir, he

death is to be feared as the signal of a dissolution of the empire. His brothers are of revolting incapacity : we shall see a new party spring up in favour of the Bourbons, which, of ■■ things, is to be prevented. At present, they are not dangerous ; ■■ they have active partizans, especially where you ■■ going : watch them narrowly. Beware, however, of double spies ; they ■■■■ in Germany."

At Hamburg, when I arrived and presented my credentials on the 5th of June, the diplomatic body ■■ consisted of representatives,—from Spain, Count ■■ Rechteren, a bon vivant, and his secretary Romanillos, ill educated, and disagreeable ; from Prussia, Baron Grote, insupportably vain and talkative ; from Denmark, Baron d'Eybe, an absolute cipher ; from England, Mr Thornton, ■■ excellent man, prudent, and well informed ; from Russia, M. Forshmann, a little droll fellow, a fool, and still more vain than foolish ; from Austria, ■■ Gieffer, a very good man ; from Portugal, M. Schubach, ■■ of the ■■■■ honourable merchants in Hamburg ; from Holland, M. Reynoldt, talented, but self-sufficient ; from Sweden, M. Peyron, whom I did not see, ■■ account of the war. This I regretted : he was described as wise and conciliating, and dissuaded his majesty of Sweden from kidnapping and binding ■■ ■■ ■■ volume ■■ second to ■■ Rumbold, the English minister, whom Napoleon ■■ carried off in my predecessor's time.

Immediately on arriving in Hamburg, I had instructions, first of all, ■■ give assurance that his Imperial Majesty would guarantee the constitution and the tranquility of Germany, and that he regarded this obligation as a most sacred duty : but scarcely ■■ I entered upon my functions, when ■■■■ ravaged Germany, and the continental system ruined the ■■■■ its commercial cities. I recalled then what the Emperor ■■ said in my audience of leave—" You will be useful to me in Germany ; I have views on

country.* These thus placed me in a continued contradiction with my amicable relations of friendship and protection. In other respects, my situation, during the first few months of residence at Hamburg, was attended with various labours, while my duties succeeded and crossed each other with inconceivable rapidity. My occupation was very different, but not less arduous than that formerly devolving upon me in the cabinet of the Emperor, while my private avocations incurred a responsibility which had been attached to the functions of private secretary. In detail—I had to watch the emigrants at Altona, of itself no small affair, to correspond almost daily with the minister for foreign affairs, and the minister of police, to confer with the foreign minister resident at Hamburg, to maintain active intercourse with the generals of the French armies, to direct my secret agents, to keep an eye on them also. I was enjoined, besides—not the least disagreeable of my engagements—to be constantly on the alert for those accursed articles in the *Hamburg Correspondent*, which so grievously annoyed Napoleon. The editor sent me a proof, every evening, of the paper as it was to appear next morning,—a favour granted only to the minister of France, but even thus, nuisances crept in, or, rather, could not be kept out. Fouché overwhelmed me with denunciations; had I listened to him, I should have tormented every body. During the first months succeeding my arrival, I received orders to arrest a great many persons, almost all qualified as *dangerous men and bad subjects*. When convinced of the falsehood of an accusation, I gained time; and he who gains time, gains forgetfulness replaced severity, and no one complained. Besides, such orders were almost always illusory;

* Of the paper at this time, 27,000 copies were circulated, which impression soon rose to 80,000. It was got up excellently, and paid well.

when ■■■■ repugnance existed against their execution. The ■■■■ accused marched away from ■■■■ burg ■■■■ Altona as one takes a walk from the Tuileries ■■■■ the Champs Elysées, ■■■■ distance being somewhat ■■■■ than three quarters of ■■■■ mile; and Hamburg, ■■■■ city of ninety thousand souls, ■■■■ under ■■■■ control ■■■■ a president ■■■■ captain of police devoted ■■■■ the English. I could not make myself ■■■■ heard ■■■■ Altona—a word in German, expressive of ■■■■ great proximity—save by way of Copenhagen; which long, ■■■■ indispensable circuit rendered null every ■■■■. I renounced the attempt, and certainly found, for my part, that *Altona* ■■■■ not too near.*

The enmity of the foreign princes against Napoleon encouraged all sorts of abusive writings, which greatly added to the difficulties of ■■■■ situation. This hatred ■■■■ greatly augmented on the death of the Duke d'Enghien,—a fact ■■■■ concealed by any one of the ministers or foreigners of distinction who resided in or visited Hamburg. Of this I ■■■■ a curious proof among my papers, in the shape of an article for the *Correspondent*. It did not, of course, appear in that publication, and mine is the intercepted copy. It states, "that ■■■■ the day when the ■■■■ reached Berlin, a grand entertainment having been previously appointed to take place at the palace in the evening, ■■■■ ■■■■ thought ■■■■ to postpone the arrangements. Time, however, did not suffice to countermand ■■■■ invitations; and besides, the king, ■■■■ reflection, ■■■■ necessity of temporising. But when ■■■■ French minister made his appearance, every ■■■■ whom he ■■■■ turned away, nor would any ■■■■ sit ■■■■ the ■■■■ card-table with any of the members of the French diplomacy." The indignation against ■■■■ transaction was, in truth, universal. The King of Sweden distinguished himself by ■■■■ violence; ■■■■ liked ■■■■ ■■■■ be talked of. About the time of my arrival,

* The etymology of *Altona* is said to be *alzu-makes*, too close.

he gave a grand military fête in his camp at Scania. The minister afterwards shewed an autograph letter, directing me to have inserted in the *Correspondent* an account of my mighty camp, his own minister, M. d'Ocariz, spoke with derision. The prince sent back to the king of Prussia the collar of the black eagle, because his order had been conferred upon the First Consul. His Prussian majesty much hurt by this proceeding, which he considered to be an insult, and as improper as the returning of the golden fleece by Louis XVIII. had been noble. Gustavus, in fact, was inconsiderate and irascible. He called Bonaparte *Master Napoleon*. He was brave, enterprising, and chivalrous, but his follies and his declaration of war on the 81st October, 1805, was with personal abuse against the Emperor. We see by and by what the results of his grand expeditions.

On my first arrival in Germany, the Emperor of Austria had not yet acknowledged Napoleon as King of Italy, though his ambassador had remained in Paris. From that moment, however, Austria prepared for England, glad to remove the apprehension of an invasion, urged on the cabinet of Vienna. But I have reason to believe that Napoleon was absorbed in his pretended expedition when the hostile intentions of Austria manifested themselves, he desired such manifestation, and this lifting of bucklers in another quarter caused to be forgotten, without regret, his useless and expensive preparations against England. This power was, in the mean time, making her resist the which threatened her, and expended considerable sums in transporting troops from Hanover. Never, in fact, such precipitation been witnessed. Vessels could not be procured in sufficient abundance, and the prizes for transports were given. These troops were those of General Walmoden, captured in Sub-

lingen, by [redacted] Mortier, who [redacted] [redacted] army of occupation in Hanover. The [redacted] gov[redacted] [redacted] refused [redacted] ratify the capitulation, because it stipulated that the troops [redacted] remain prisoners of war. Bonaparte had two motives [redacted] [redacted] insisting upon this harsh condition; [redacted] wished [redacted] retain possession of Hanover in lieu of Malta, and as [redacted] [redacted] of [redacted] easily attacking Prussia, whose intentions [redacted] began to excite his suspicion. [redacted] [redacted] secured [redacted] left flank, in the event of marching [redacted] north. Mortier, therefore, received orders [redacted] modify the capitulation, and the transport of the troops thus liberated, with [redacted] supposed urgency of their [redacted] [redacted] home, occasioned the haste [redacted] described, by which many of the Hanoverian houses realized fortunes.

Marshal Bernadotte succeeded Mortier in Hanover. We resumed our ancient relations of amity, both officially and privately. Before my arrival, two Irishmen had been recommended to the marshal by Berthier as spies. One of these, MacMahon, I quickly found to be [redacted] a spy of England than [redacted]. Of [redacted] I apprized Bernadotte; he had made the [redacted] discovery, and wrote me, "I never had any confidence either [redacted] the capacity [redacted] [redacted] devotion of the [redacted] MacMahon. I [redacted] intrusted [redacted] with any commission of importance; and, if [redacted] received employment, [redacted] [redacted] from his having been recommended by the minister of war, and that his unfortunate situation inspired pity. I gave him [redacted] first 400 francs per month, (£16, [redacted] 4d.) but, detecting his incapacity, I reduced [redacted] allowance to 250,—a pittance barely [redacted] to keep him alive." After the occupation [redacted] Hanover, Mr Taylor, English minister [redacted] Cassel, had been obliged [redacted] quit that court, but had returned, notwithstanding the opposition of France. Bernadotte's letter [redacted] [redacted] on this subject is interesting :—

"My [redacted] Bourrienne,—I have just received

advice, which remove all ██████████ the transactions
 ██████████ Cassel, ██████████ Taylor's affair. That minister ██████████
 been received, notwithstanding the representations ██████████
 ██████████ (M. Bignon,) which, indeed, ██████████ all now, ██████████ been
 merely verbal. I know the Elector wrote ██████████ London,
 requesting that Mr Taylor might not return; in reply,
 ██████████ English government sent him back: ██████████ minister
 ██████████ every thing ██████████ induce ██████████ Elector to dismiss him;
 but the grand consideration of the Elector's pecuniary
 interests carried the day; he could ██████████ ██████████ quar-
 rel with a court on which he depends for 12,000,000
 francs, (half a million.) The British ministry, ██████████ be
 sure, have been again ██████████ the subject; ██████████
 the Elector himself, by a private letter, has requested
 the King of England to recall Mr Taylor; but it
 is very likely the court of London will elude the
 demand. Under these circumstances, ██████████ troops have
 approached Cassel. ██████████ then, the whole country
 of Gottingen had been exempt from military occupa-
 tion; new dispositions, required by the scarcity of
 forage, determined me to send a squadron of horse
 chasseurs to Munden, a ██████████ town twelve miles from
 Cassel. This movement placed ██████████ Elector ill at
 ease; ██████████ has expressed a desire to see things rein-
 stated in their former position; and begged M. Bignon
 to write me in these terms, charging him to repeat
 ██████████ ██████████ that he ██████████ be delighted ██████████ cultivate
 my acquaintance ██████████ the ██████████ of Nemidorff, where
 ██████████ ██████████ for ██████████ time. But herein I shall act, as
 already stated to you. I believed, my dear Bourrienne,
 you would ██████████ sorry to learn all ██████████ particulars:
 you may depend upon them. I salute you.

BERNADOTTE."

Our information, however, ██████████ always so
 legitimately obtained, as the following incident, which
 happened about the time of my arrival at Hamburg,
 will shew:—A courier from Vienna, ██████████
 England, ██████████ waylaid, in a forest through which ██████████

had to pass, and his despatches seized, by order of the Emperor. His hands were then tied, and he himself, in this condition, bound to a tree. This unfortunate man remained in this frightful situation, till an old Frenchman, passing accidentally, discovered, and released him from almost certain death. During the six years I remained in Germany, no such order reached me; I was well; for I would not have directed its execution.

In the beginning of the month of August, a treaty was talked of between Russia and England; I had previously learned, upon unquestionable authority, that the Emperor Alexander had made overtures to General Moreau, to induce him to accept the command of the Austrian infantry. The Emperor made him of twelve millions of rubles (£2,100,000) to defray travelling expenses. Moreau, who is well known, had the misfortune to accept these conditions till long after, when he died in the ranks of the enemy.

The treaty, persons of high rank, and versed in such affairs, who were the original, communicated to me by the following extract:—1. The object of the treaty shall be the re-establishment of the equilibrium of Europe: 2. The Emperor of Russia shall place 36,000 men at the disposal of England: 3. Neither of the two powers to lay down arms till the King of Rome be restored to his dominions, or have received an equivalent in the northeast of Italy: 4. Malta to be evacuated by the English, and occupied by the Russians: 5. The two contracting powers guarantee the independence of the Ionian Republic, and England engages to aid Russia in her war with Persia. Had this project of a treaty been realized—and of this existence I have no doubt—it is impossible to calculate what might have been the consequences in Europe.

At this epoch, no one in the north questioned the near approach of a continental war. I affirm, that, had Napoleon assumed the initiative, he renounced

in good time his extravagancies at Boulogne, France would have been overwhelmed. I was not slow in advising him of the danger which the country : Of this, hereafter.

The of the Hanoverian army, which occupied a extent of position, required force to be concentrated, in order to approach the line of military operations, which events announced hand. Bernadotte thus obliged abandon Cuxhaven, which belonged to Hamburg, took occasion of necessity to elicit certain that city, under pretext of the evacuation being a mark of respect for the municipality ! The following is letter to me on this subject :—

“ You have good reason, my dear Bourrienne, to complain of me ; I had, from the first, intended to advertise you of the movements taking place in the army, but supposed that in twenty-four hours you be informed of every thing. I have completed preparatory dispositions, for concentrating the troops upon Verden, and beyond that upon Ganoë ; I have also assembled some regiments at Gottingen. Up to this moment, all is conjecture ; but, so soon as I have any thing positive, be assured, my dear B., you shall know. I feel how important it is that you should be as conversant as to how matters go here. As the I have just made carries a from Cuxhaven, I may abandon post entirely. Could you turn that circumstance to advantage for army ? I think you would perform something agreeable to his majesty, by procuring supplies for his army in Hanover. Accept, my dear B., renewed assurances my regard. BERNADOTTE.”

“ September 3, 1805.”

The Marshal soon after set out, in full march, for the south of Germany. Napoleon, remembering the successful mission of Duroc to Berlin, under the

Consulate, despatched him a second time, in order to appease the King of Prussia, who took very seriously the violation of his neutrality, by the passage of Bernadotte's army through Anspach. Duroc's mission, however, was this time not so agreeable. The easy progress of the troops through Hesse had encouraged this infringement; there existed a mighty difference between a petty principality and the kingdom of Prussia. In his first letter, Duroc wrote me,—"I know how long may be my sojourn here." By my last news, the Emperor still at Paris, his armies assembling on the Rhine; the hopes of peace become more and more overcast: Austria is at the bottom of all. I have heard from Marshal Bernadotte. His passage through Hesse has been effected in the best manner possible; the Marshal lauds the Elector to the skies." To this was subjoined a note in the handwriting of M. Laforest, our minister at the court of Prussia, desiring copies of the Russian Military Regulations, and the Austrian Almanack,—“a circumstance,” I borrow my correspondent's words, “which, it shewed how far we are behind in these matters, proved at least in good faith.” Duroc's second letter was in a different strain; the kindness of the King of Prussia vanished with the success of the march through Anspach. His miscontraction has been put in doubt illegal violation of the rights of a neutral power: but a letter from a friend of the Emperor, dictated in the confidence of friendship, may place things in their proper light:—“The corps of Marshal Bernadotte traversed the margravate of Anspach, and in order, issued in the best possible faith, but misconstrued, through certain underhand dealings, has been here at Anspach represented as an insult to the King, and an outrage to his neutrality. But is it to be supposed, that the Emperor, in the present circumstances especially, would think of insulting, or of offering violence to an ally?

Besides, reports have been exaggerated, and invented by those who are greater friends to me than I am. I am very ready, however, to admit, that Marshal Bernadotte's seventy thousand soldiers are not seventy thousand virgins. Whatever may be the extent of damage—and I am very sure it is not from fatal,—it is not the less injurious to Laforest and myself have been very hardly upon, though we are degree culpable. All the idle stories set afloat here must have reached you. Perhaps Prussia will forget, that France was the only power which took part in her aggrandizement, and has still the means to maintain."

The junction of the Marshal's corps with the grand army, prior to the battle of Austerlitz, was of such importance to Napoleon not to be expedited by all means, and by the shortest road. Gustavus of Sweden, always engaged in some scheme, proposed to form an army, composed of his own troops, the Prussians, and English, and unquestionably, a vigorous attack in the north prevented Bernadotte's departure from the Weser and the Elbe, to reinforce the grand army, in its march upon Vienna. But this coalition confined its operations to besieging the insignificant fortress of Hameln. Prussia would not yet break with us, and the King of Sweden, thus abandoned, only drew upon himself the heavier resentment of Bonaparte, while he alienated the affections of his subjects.

Such was the state of affairs, after I had been three months in Hamburg, when, at length, intelligence reached me that the Emperor had set out for the army. This event was preceded by the abolition of all that now remained of the Republic, namely, the calendar. This has been one of the most successful inventions, for the designation of the months could be generally applicable, even when confined to France. A decree of the 11th of September, decreed, that, from the 1st of January, 1806, the

months [] days should resume their ancient divisions and []

It [] Napoleon's constant policy to represent [] aggressors—himself as forced [] declare war. [] thus he [] two objects in view,—to maintain an appearance of sincere love of peace, and to remove the responsibility of a contest which he seemed [] have sought. His [] offers [] examples of this policy so striking [] the operations previous [] the first conquest of Vienna. Nothing could be [] evident than that the transformation of the [] Republic into the Kingdom of Italy, and the union of Genoa to the empire, were [] contrary to the existing treaties; yet the Emperor did not the [] complain of these treaties being violated by Austria. The truth is, Austria had armed [] the most secret manner, [] assembled her troops on the frontiers of Bavaria. An Austrian corp. had [] penetrated into some of the provinces of the Electorate. From that moment, Napoleon could [] for a pretext the necessity of marching to the [] of the allies of France.

In this spirit, he published [] singular manifesto, intended for the Diet then assembled [] Ratisbon. In this document he exposed [] grievances, [] threw the odium of [] that might follow upon the previous [] of Austria; here the [] were, of themselves, true, but presented only one side of the question. "In such grave circumstances," so [] eluded [] document, "and after vainly endeavouring [] bring the court of Vienna to sentiments truly

* [] the labouring classes the dryness into decades, instead of weeks, [] a day of rest only every tenth, instead of every seventh day, was particularly obnoxious. [] better sayings are on record than that of the French mathematician, who, being consulted on the appropriateness of the new calendar, replied, "Learned calculations are thrown away here; the question is decided by the commonest wants of men; a dirty shirt and a rough beard will ever be against your decades."—*Translator.*

pacific, notwithstanding the reiterated asseverations
 that court, of having no hostile intentions against
 France, the Emperor the French regards bound
 to declare, that he will consider as a proclama-
 tion of war, formally directed against himself, every
 aggression to the detriment of the Germanic body,
 and especially against Bavaria; the Emperor being
 fully determined to separate the of
 his empire from those of the Princes of Germany,
 allies." This note reached me on the Sep-
 tember. Twelve days after, on the 1st Vendemiaire,
 which was to figure, for the last time, among the
 festivals of the Imperial Republic, Napoleon presided
 in the Senate, and departed the morrow for the
 army.

In the memorable sitting, which preceded his
 departure, the Emperor presented to the Senate,
 a plan for the reorganization of the National Guards.
 The minister for foreign affairs read an explanation
 of the reciprocal conduct of France and Austria
 posterior to the peace of Luneville. The
 sitting broke up, the Emperor addressed the senators
 in a speech, which produced a very lively sensation
 throughout Germany.

"In the present circumstances of Europe, I the
 necessity of meeting my Senate, and explaining
 to you my sentiments. I am about to quit my
 capital, in order to place myself at the head of the
 army, bear prompt assistance to my allies, and defend
 the dearest rights of my people.

"The wishes of the eternal enemies of the con-
 tinent accomplished: hostilities have commenced
 in the midst of Germany. Austria and Russia have
 united with England, and our generation is involved
 anew in the calamities of war. Only a few days
 hence, and I the hope that peace
 troubled,—menaces and insults found
 passive; but the Austrian army has passed

Inn; ~~Strasbourg~~ is forcibly seized, the elector of Bavaria has been driven from his capital, and my hopes have vanished away

"In this crisis, the baseness of the enemies of the continent is unveiled. They still fear the manifestation of my profound ~~desire~~ of peace,—they feared lest Austria, ~~in~~ the aspect of the abyss which they had sunk beneath her steps, should relapse ~~into~~ sentiments of justice and moderation, and they have precipitated her into hostility. I lament the blood which ~~time~~ will cost to Europe, but the French name shall thence derive ~~its~~ lustre

"Senators! When, ~~in~~ your prayer,—at the ~~moment~~ of ~~the~~ whole French nation,—I place ~~it~~ upon my head the imperial diadem, ~~I~~ received from you, and from every citizen, a pledge to maintain it pure and unsullied! My people, under ~~such~~ circumstances, have given ~~me~~ proof of their confidence and their attachment. They will hasten to ~~join~~ themselves beneath the banners of their Emperor and of his army, who before many days will have passed the frontiers

"Magistrates, soldiers, citizens,—all will strive to preserve the country from ~~the~~ influence of England, who, if she prevailed, would grant us none other ~~than~~ a disgraceful and ignominious peace, the principal conditions of which would be the conflagration of our navy, the destruction of our harbours, ~~and~~ the annihilation of our trade

"~~For~~ the promises which I pledged to the French people I have fulfilled. The French people, on ~~their~~ part, made no engagement which has not been redeemed. ~~In~~ these circumstances, so ~~for~~ the national glory and my fame, they will continue ~~to~~ merit the name of great, with which, from amid ~~the~~ of blood, I ~~glorified~~ France. Frenchmen! your Emperor will do his duty, his soldiers will ~~perform~~ theirs; you will discharge yours!"

In this address I recognised the usual boasting

of Napoleon: For this once, however, events seemed as if striving to accomplish those . . . The Emperor may have made campaigns . . . scientific than that of Austerlitz, but not . . . of his fields is surrounded with . . . much of the dazzling and the wonderful. Often have I thought of the secret joy with which he must have set out for a great war in Germany; a favourite idea, which he . . . cherished . . . amidst the sands of Egypt. He . . . halted at Strasburg, whither Josephine had . . . him, and, during this short residence of the Empress, I received from that city the manuscript of the . . . of Julio.

All my reports spoke of the enthusiasm of . . . army . . . learning its destination to be for Germany. For the first time, Napoleon had . . . recourse to accelerated . . . of transport. Twenty thousand carriages transferred his army, as if by enchantment, from the shores of the ocean to the banks of the Rhine.* Each young ambition grew yet more . . . bitious, in the hope of signalising its powers under the eye of a leader who was the idol of his soldiers. Thus, during his residence at Strasburg, the Emperor might venture to predict with some security the . . . awaiting him under the walls of Vienna,

* A very graphic description, by an eye-witness, of the breaking up of the camps at Boulogne, has lately been forwarded to me. "At daybreak the wind was fair for England,—the blockading squadron had been blown down the Channel. The . . . trumpets sounded 'On board!' and in six hours nearly two hundred thousand men,—sailors, soldiers, artillery, stores, ammunition, . . . arms, were embarked! Every thing seemed favourable. All was hushed,—each eye and ear intent for the signal to weigh. The trumpets pealed for 'To land!' The army disembarked to the same admirable order, but with different feelings. The soldiers hung their heads, and even murmurs were heard as they retired to their camps. Hence a brief proclamation announced . . . change in their destination; and by to-morrow's dawn the vanguard was on the march for Austerlitz." — *Translator*.

which, as Rapp informed me, he did in presence of a great many persons, while on the ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ quitting Strasburg,—“The plan of Mack’s campaign is settled; ■ ■ ■ Caudine ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ at Ulm.” This ■ ■ ■ a favourite expression with Napoleon, when ■ ■ ■ beheld the enemy’s army concentrated upon a point, and foresaw ■ ■ ■ defeat. Experience proved that he ■ ■ ■ not deceived; ■ ■ ■ I must here affirm, that the report of Mack’s having sold himself and Ulm, is a groundless — a notorious falsehood. ■ ■ ■ may have given ■ ■ ■ countenance to it, was the humane intercession, made by Napoleon ■ ■ ■ favour of Mack, when threatened with trial by a court-martial.*

I may here relate the circumstances whence dates the fortune of a ■ ■ ■ of great merit, because occurring ■ ■ ■ this time, though the information reached me at a later period. The Emperor was still at Strasburg, when one day he desired Marecot, general of the corps of engineers, ■ ■ ■ name him a young ■ ■ ■ of spirit, to whom a delicate mission could be confided. “He ■ ■ ■ be brave, prudent, and well informed, ■ ■ ■ to push a reconnaissance to the utmost.” A young captain of engineers was recommended, named Barnard; who, accordingly, set out, without ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ notice. He advanced almost to Vienna, and returned ■ ■ ■ the imperial head-quarters about the time of the capitulation of Ulm. Napoleon interrogated ■ ■ ■ messenger himself, and was much pleased with ■ ■ ■ replies. Not satisfied with answering verbally, Barnard ■ ■ ■ drawn up a written report; ■ ■ ■ which, among other things, it was advised to march directly upon Vienna, without regarding the fortified towns; because the possession of the capital would ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ of course. “I was present,” ■ ■ ■

* Why, if Mack were innocent, was intercession necessary? The reader will remember Nelson’s character of Mack when the latter commanded at Naples,—“That fellow either does not, or will not, understand his business” — *Translator*.

Rapp to me, "while the young officer was examined: when ■ had finished his report, to our astonishment, the Emperor exclaimed ■ a passion, 'How! you are a ■ild one! very daring indeed! A petty officer pres- ■ to ■ ■ plang of the campaign ■ me! Begone, and wait my orders.'" In this, and what ■ have ■ ■ relate of Captain Barnard's career, ■ recognize Napoleon completely. "When ■ young officer had been thus roughly dismissed," continued Rapp, "the Emperor, all at once changing his tone, said, '■ is a young ■ of merit; ■ ■ observed well; I have no wish to expose him to ■ chance of a bullet; I ■ want him, most likely, hereafter: go and tell Berthier to expedite an order for him to set out for Illyria.' Away went Barnard with ■ heavy heart, burning to be engaged in ■ campaign, whence he conceived ■ removed ■ ■ punishment, when, in fact, this removal was a precaution of the Emperor to preserve a young officer ■ ■ he ■ appreciated. At the close of the campaign, when the Emperor gave promotion to the ■ ■ who had been ■ distinguished, Barnard, supposed to be in disgrace, did ■ appear on Berthier's list, among the captains of engineers proposed for nomination ■ the rank of colonel:—the Emperor, with ■ ■ hand, inserted his name, placing it before ■ those presented to him."

Notwithstanding this, Napoleon overlooked ■ protégé for ■ long while; and I may as well introduce here, the ■ ■ in which Barnard was again brought ■ mind, and how he became colleague to my informant, Rapp, in quality of aide-de-camp ■ the Emperor. Some time previous to the campaign of 1812, the Emperor, being ■ Paris, desired to have exact information ■ regarding Ragusa and Illyria. ■ sent for Marmont, whose replies did not altogether satisfy ■. Several other generals were examined; ■ ■ ■ ■ was, "It is all very well, yet not exactly what I want. I do not yet know Ragusa." Dejean,

inspector of engineers, was then called. "Have you, among your officers, one who is well acquainted with Ragusa?" Reflecting a little, Dejean replied, "Sire, there is a colonel belonging to our corps, long forgotten, who knows Illyria perfectly."—"His name?"—"Barnard."—"Ah! stop; Barnard! I know him—where is he?"—"Sire, he is at Antwerp, employed on the works."—"A telegraphic despatch—Let Barnard mount and be here without drawing bridle." It is well known with what promptitude orders of this kind were executed. Barnard in a few days, was in the cabinet of the Emperor. Napoleon instantly recognized his constructor of campaigns, and received him kindly, putting the subject before him thus: "Tell me about Ragusa!" This was his usual mode, and one day, during the Consulate, he himself asked me, "By this mode of interrogating, I am most certain to discover what a man observed interesting in any place." The account given by Barnard was entirely satisfactory; and, when he had finished, Napoleon said, "Colonel Barnard, now I know Ragusa." Afterwards, he talked with him familiarly, entering into many of the details concerning the fortifications constructing at Antwerp—found faults, and shewed how he would turn many of them; Barnard, on his part, explained how he would foil these attacks, in a way that quite enchanted the Emperor, who gave the young speaker a mark of confidence, which, to my knowledge, never before been conferred. The Emperor, going to preside at the Council of State, desired the colonel to accompany him; and, during the sitting, asked his opinion on the subject under discussion. At the breaking up of the Council, Napoleon, turning to the officer, said, "Barnard, you are my *side-de-camp*." After the ensuing campaign, he was made general of brigade, and, soon after, general of division. At this moment, Barnard was well known throughout Europe as an engineer and his existence. A foolish proceeding

Clarke's deprived France ■ a ■ so distinguished, who, rejecting brilliant offers made ■ him by several of the European potentates, has retired ■ ■ United States, where he commands ■ engineers, ■ has there constructed those fortifications ■ ■ of the Floridas, which ■ men of science regard as ■ piece in the ■ In all the circumstances of this case, I not only ■ completely displayed the character of Napoleon, ■ a remarkable instance of the eagle glance with which he detected merit, wherever ■ was to ■ found, and of that species of instinct which urged him to attach it to his interests, as something which had emanated from, and ought to return to himself.

Departing from Strasburg, the Emperor hastened forward, and threw himself at the head of the Bavarian troops, thus holding the enemy at bay till his ■ army came up. When all were assembled, in order to excite to ■ higher pitch, if that had been possible, the zeal and devotedness of these noble legions, he addressed them in the following proclamation, ■ with the orders of the day:—

“Soldiers! The ■ of the triple coalition has commenced. Your Emperor is in ■ midst of you. You are but ■ advanced guard of the great nation, ready, ■ necessary, to rise, as ■ my voice, ■ confound and overthrow this ■ combination, which the hatred and the gold of England have formed. But, soldiers! we shall have to make forced marches; fatigues and privations of all kinds ■ endure; whatever obstacles may be opposed to us, ■ will surmount them all, ■ rest ■ have planted ■ eagles ■ the territory of ■ enemies.”

CHAPTER VI

RAPID MARCHES—CAPITULATION OF ULM—ANECDOTES—NAPOLEON AND THE CAPTIVE RUSSIANS—HIS REFUSAL OF A RUSSIAN ALLIANCE—CAPTURE OF VIENNA—DARING STRATAGEM OF LANNES AND MURAT—ANECDOTES OF NAPOLEON AND THE RUSSIANS OF THE FIRST PATROU—PRELIMINARY MOVEMENTS—BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ—NAFF'S DESCRIPTION—RETIRES OF NAPOLEON AND THE RUSSIANS OF AUSTRIA—TREATY OF PRESSBURG—CONSEQUENCES OF THE TREATY

WERE I to attempt merely to give an idea of the brilliant campaign of 1805, I should be obliged, in extracting from despatches and letters, to assimilate my narrative in some measure to an almanack, marking day by day one victory at least, or some of those rapid marches which the presence of Napoleon impressed upon his army, and which so powerfully contributed to the prodigious results of a campaign of sixty days. In truth, was not the celerity of the first operations of the Emperor a thing, till then, unimagined? On the 1st of September he left Paris, and hostilities had commenced by the 2d of October. On the 6th and 7th, the French passed the Danube, and turned the army of the enemy. On the 8th, Murat, in the battle of Wertingen, on that river, made two thousand prisoners, with many Austrian officers of distinction. On the morrow, the defeated Austrians sustained a complete discomfiture at Günzburg, by our valiant squadrons, who, following up their advantage, entered

Augsburg on the 10th, and Munich on the 12th of the same month. On receiving these despatches, I could almost fancy myself perusing legends of [redacted]. Two days after the entry of the French into the Bavarian capital, that is to say, on the 14th, an Austrian corps of six thousand laid down their arms [redacted] Soult at Memmingen, while, on the same day, Ney won, by force of arms, his dukedom of Elchingen [redacted]. Last, the 17th of October [redacted] capitulation of Ulm, and, [redacted] another quarter, [redacted] same [redacted] witnessed the commencement of hostilities [redacted] Italy, between Massena and the Archduke Prince Charles. I [redacted] persuaded that Napoleon [redacted] great disappointment [redacted] the Prince [redacted] not opposed [redacted] him, for often have I heard him complain of [redacted] unskilfulness of the enemy's generals, whose faults, though he ably profited by them, seemed to take from him the full honours of victory. Never, perhaps, did any [redacted] anxiously desire to [redacted] enemies worthy of his arms.*

With respect to the capture of Ulm, the report which I am now to render is that which was laid before the Emperor. He [redacted] paused, for a brief space, at Augsburg, with the venerable prelate and former elector of Trier, who was gratefully attached [redacted] person, [redacted] order [redacted] consider [redacted] movements by which he [redacted] to operate upon the Austrian army. The pause was the couching of the tiger before he springs. He rushed forward with such incredible [redacted] rapidity, that the Archduke Ferdinand deemed himself but too fortunate in being barely [redacted] Danube. All the other Austrian forces, however, were [redacted] up in Ulm, and the garrison of a place deemed to [redacted]

* Probably it would have been as difficult to convince the Emperor of the worthiness of his enemies, as to persuade Bourrienne on the same point. From some expressions of the secretary, he seems to doubt the worthiness of the Duke of Wellington, yet he beat Napoleon — [redacted]

impregnable, thus been augmented thirty

Segur, afterwards in the service of Murat, intrusted with conveying the report for the Emperor, on subject, will be read with interest. Yesterday, Vendémiaire, (16th October,) the Emperor for me, to in the cabinet. I received orders repair Ulm, decide to surrender in five days, or, he should stand out for six, to grant them. These my only instructions. The night was dark; a fearful hurricane raged; rain fell in torrents; it was necessary to pass by cross roads, and avoid gulfs in which man, horse, and mission, might have met untimely end. I had almost reached the gates, without lighting upon our advanced posts. There were none, in fact: sentinels, videttes, mainguards—all had got under cover; even the parks of artillery were deserted; no fires—no stars. I continued wander about for three hours, in search of some means to make known my approach. I traversed several villages; questioned those in them; all to no purpose. At last I found a trumpeter of artillery, half drowned in the mire, and stiff with cold, under a carriage. We doubtless expected; for, summons, an officer, M. de Latour, appeared, who spoke French very well. I bandaged my eyes, and me under the fortifications. I remarked my conductor, how useless all precautions in such darkness; but customary observances could not be dispensed with. The distance appeared long. I entered into conversation with my guide, endeavouring to discover what troops were shut up in the city. From replies, I conjectured we enclosed all the remains of the Austrian army. At length we reached the inn where commander-in-chief head-quarters. He speedily made his appearance—tall, aged, pale, and an expression which announced a lively imagination. On his countenance

was obviously impressed an anxiety which he laboured
 to conceal. After the exchange of some compliments,
 I gave my name, stating I had come, on the part of
 the Emperor, to summon the Austrian general to
 surrender, and to arrange with him the terms of
 capitulation. These expressions appeared to him
 supportable, and, at first, he would not think
 being necessary. I insisted; observing, that, having
 been received, it must be obvious to the Emperor,
 that the General was aware of his situation.
 He replied quickly, that his situation would soon be
 changed; that the Russian army was approaching
 to succour; that he should be between two fires,
 and might find it our time to talk of capitulating.
 I replied, that, in his position, it was not wonderful
 he should be ignorant of what had taken place in
 Germany; that, in consequence, I had the honour
 to inform him of Marshal Bernadotte's occupying
 Ingoldstadt, and the advanced posts being on the Inn,
 where the Russians were not yet shewn themselves.
 'May I be —,' exclaimed General Mack, in great
 wrath, 'if I am not certainly informed, that the
 Russians are at Dachau! Do you suppose you can
 deceive me thus? or treat you with a child? No, no!
 I am Segur, and in eight days I am not relieved, I
 consent to surrender the place; my soldiers remain
 prisoners of war, and their officers to be prisoners on
 parole. Then there will be time for relieving me,
 and I shall have done my duty. The Russians will
 reach me of that I am certain.' — 'I have the honour
 to repeat, General, that we are only some miles
 from Dachau, but of Munich. Besides, supposing you right
 — which is not the case — if the Russians be at
 Dachau, five days will be sufficient for them to come and attack
 us, and these are His Majesty's orders.' — 'No, sir,'
 replied the General, 'I demand eight days; they are
 indispensable to my responsibility.' — 'Thus,' resumed
 I, 'all the difficulty consists in three days. But I
 cannot understand the importance your Excellency

attaches to these, when his Majesty ■ before your gates, with an army of one hundred thousand ■ while the corps of ■ Bernadotte ■ General Marmont are able to retard, for three days, ■ march ■ the Russians, even supposing them to ■ whence they are yet ■ off'—'They are ■ Dachau, I repeat,' interrupted General Mack.—'Well, be ■ so, M le Baron,' said I, 'or, if you will, at Augsburg; ■ are ■ much ■ ■ pressed to a speedy termination of your affair. Do not force us, then, to carry Ulm by assault; for then, instead of five days, ■ Emp ■ will ■ here ■ the morning.'—'Ah, sir' replied the commander-in-chief, 'do ■ imagine that fifteen thousand men will allow themselves to be forced so easily; it will cost you dear'—'Some hundreds of brave fellows, doubtless,' replied I, 'and you the destruction of your army ■ of Ulm, with which Germany will reproach you; in short, ■ the evils of ■ assault; which his Majesty would spare by the proposition offered ■ rough me'—'Say,' cried the Marshal, 'that it will cost you ten thousand men! The strength of Ulm ■ no secret'—'It consists in the heights which surround it—and these ■ in ■ possession'—'Then, sir, is it possible that you do not know the strength of Ulm?'—'Doubtless ■ do, Marshal, and ■ much the ■ completely, ■ ■ look down ■ your works'—'Very well, sir,' ■ the unfortunate General, 'then you ■ ready ■ defend themselves to the last extremity, if your Emperor does not grant them eight days. I can hold out long enough here. There ■ in Ulm three thousand horses upon which ■ will feed, rather than surrender, with ■ much pleasure ■ you would do, if ■ ■ place.'—'Three thousand horses!' answered I; 'ah, Marshal, the straits to which you ■ already reduced ■ be considerable, since you ■ early ■ such wretched resources.'

"The Marshal hastened to assure me, that they ■ days' provisions; ■ I gave ■ credit to the

assertion. The day began to break, I arose, my instructions directed me to [redacted] before day, and, in case of refusal [redacted] surrender in five days, transmit the order, in passing, to [redacted] Ney, [redacted] begin the attack. Here General Mack complained of the severity of the Marshal, [redacted] refusing [redacted] his flags of truce, and I embraced the opportunity to represent the character [redacted] Ney [redacted] fierce, impetuous, impossible [redacted] be restrained, that he commanded [redacted] most [redacted] and nearest force of the army, [redacted] [redacted] with impatience the order for the assault. The [redacted] General [redacted] [redacted] to be intimidated, insisted upon eight days, and pressed me to carry his request to the Emperor. I might have proposed [redacted], but [redacted] no advantage [redacted] the measure, and wished not [redacted] promise myself. He [redacted] out for the only thing [redacted] let him to defend—time.

"On the 25th, at nine in the morning, I again [redacted] the Emperor, at the Abbey of Elchingen, and gave an account of this negotiation, with which he appeared satisfied. On being recalled, I received from Marshal Berthier new propositions in writing, which General Mack was to be required [redacted] sign immediately. By these, the Emperor granted eight days to the Austrian General, but [redacted] date from the 23d, the first day of the blockade, which, [redacted] fact, reduced the [redacted] [redacted] days, but, [redacted] case of obstinate refusal, [redacted] authorised [redacted] date from the 25th. About mid-day, [redacted] entered Ulm, always with the [redacted] precautions, but, this time, General [redacted] [redacted] the gate. [redacted] presented the Emperor's ultimatum, he retired to consider it, with some officers, among whom I thought I perceived Prince Lichtenstein, and Generals Klenau and Giulay. In a quarter of an hour he returned, [redacted] dispute with [redacted] about [redacted] [redacted]. From a misunderstanding, he had conceived [redacted] the eight days [redacted] clear, exclusive of [redacted] 25th, and, with a strange emotion of satisfaction,—‘M de Segur,’ cried he, ‘my dear [redacted] de Segur, I reckoned on the generosity

of your Emperor, and have not been deceived. The Marshal Berthier, I respect him : Say to the Emperor, that I have only a slight observations to make, and will sign all he requires : But tell his Majesty, Marshal Ney has been very harsh ; that generals do not treat each other in the fashion he has treated me. You repeat to his Majesty, that I am fided in his generosity.* Then, with an effusion of increasing delight, he added,—M. de Segur, I value your esteem ; I attach much importance to your opinion you may entertain of me : I will shew you my writing I have signed, for I was determined.' While speaking thus, he unfolded a sheet of paper, inscribed with these words,—' *Eight days, or death !*' signed 'Mack.'**

Prince Maurice of Lichtenstein had also been sent to the imperial head-quarters with a flag of truce, and, conformably to usage, was conducted on horseback, with his eyes bandaged. Rapp afterwards described to me this interview. "Figure to yourself the astonishment," said he, "or confusion, of the poor Prince, on the bandage being removed ; he knew nothing at all of the real state of affairs, having no idea that the Emperor had yet arrived. On finding himself in presence of Napoleon, he could not forbear an involuntary expression of surprise, which did not escape the Emperor, and frankly avowed that he was not aware of his being before the walls of Ulm. The Prince demanded to capitulate, on condition that the garrison should be permitted to

* Bourrienne denies the presumption which has hitherto been, and was at the time generally entertained, of contrivance between Mack and Bonaparte, in the surrenders of Ulm. The narrative in the text does not appear calculated to second such a supposition. The relation seems to want the straightforward simplicity of real business. Mack is too anxious to display, indirectly, the state to which he is reduced, he labours to impress the idea of being overpowered by circumstances to a surrender, while he parades his resolution to stand to a defence. — *Translator.*

return to Austria. That request drew a smile from the Emperor; 'That is not to be thought of,' replied he; 'I can have no motive for granting your demand. What should I gain? Eight days? In eight days you are mine without conditions. Do you suppose I am informed of all? You expect the Russians? They be in Bohemia, is the nearest. If I allow you to depart, who shall assure me that you do not join their army, and afterwards fight against me? Your generals have often deceived me; I will not again be their dupe. At Marengo, I had the weakness to allow the troops of Melas to march out from Alexandria. What ensued? Two months after, Moreau had fight the garrison of Alexandria. Besides, the present is no ordinary. After conduct of your government, I can trust to engagement. You have attacked me. I consent to what you demand, Mack would pledge himself—that I know; but has he power to keep his word? As respects himself, yes; but no, his army. Were the Archduke Ferdinand still with you, I might confide in his word, because he would be responsible for the conditions, and because he would not dishonour himself; but I am aware he quitted Ulm; he has passed the Danube—I know how to reach him, though.'—You cannot conceive," continued Rapp, "the embarrassment of Prince Lich- Recovering a degree of composure, however, he said, 'that, unless upon these concessions, my army would not capitulate.'—'In that case,' replied Napoleon, 'you may return to Mack, for I will never grant such conditions. Do you make game of me? Hold, there is the capitulation of Memmingen; shew that to your General; let him surrender on the same terms: I will consent to none other. Your officers only shall return to Austria, but your soldiers remain prisoners. Tell him to make haste. I have no time to lose. The longer he delays, the worse he will render his own situation and yours. I have

corps to which Memmingen surrendered to-morrow,—and we shall see. Let Mack know that remains no other part to be taken, forming my will.”

The imperious tone which Napoleon employed with always succeeded, produced upon usual consequences. Ulm became, he had predicted, the “Caudine forks” of the army. The defenders marched out with what are termed the honours of war, and sent prisoners into France. I may here remark, that the troops which Napoleon in combat in his military career, Austrians readily surrendered themselves prisoners of

How great the change which fifteen days of success, crowned by the capture of Ulm, had effected in the position of affairs! The hopes of enemies had risen to a pitch of folly. The security of the cabinet of Vienna really inexplicable. Some had even disposed of France as a conquered country; and, among other presents, her expense, had awarded Lyons to the King of Sardinia, in compensation for the temporary occupation of Piedmont!

It a singular trait in the character of Napoleon, that, however irritated might feel against opposition, its authors, his resentment disappeared with. consoled the misfortune of the quished generals when admitted into presence: nor did this from a feigned generosity of dissembled pride. Often I heard say, “How miserable be the general, on the morrow, after a lost battle!” He himself expected feeling Acre, and I believe, that moment, would have strangled the Djessar; but, had the surrendered, he would have treated him with the same distinctions as were lavished upon the other captive commanders Ulm. amounted to seventeen, among whom Prince Lichtenstein, Klenau, and Ginlay, enjoy-

ing reputation acquired in the preceding wars, General Fresnel, whose situation was delicate, as being an emigrant and a Frenchman. It was really painful, as Rapp informed me, to look upon these generals, while they defiled, with Mack at their head, bowing respectfully, as they passed the Emperor, who addressed them as follows:—"Gentlemen, I regret so many brave should be victims of the folly of a cabinet which entertains absurd projects, and scruples not to compromise the dignity of the Austrian nation, by trafficking in the services of generals. Your names are known to me, and are honourably remembered wherever you have fought. Examine the conduct of those who have compromised you. What more iniquitous, than to attack me without declaration of war, and unawares? Is it not criminal to bring upon the nations a foreign war?—to betray Europe, by thus introducing into her disputes hordes of Asiatics? In sound politics, the Aulic Council, in place of attacking me, ought to have sought my alliance, to drive back the Russians to the north. The alliance now formed by your cabinet will stand eternally in history as a shameful thing, it is a compact of the dogs and shepherds with wolves against the sheep. Such a conception would never have entered the head of a statesman. It is fortunate for you that I have not been worsted in the unjust contest to which I have been provoked, otherwise the cabinet of Vienna would have but too late perceived its error,—an error for which it will in all likelihood pay dearly some day."

On his successes, Napoleon addressed to his army a proclamation, which was always appeared as a masterpiece of military eloquence. For, while he commended their past exploits, he stimulated the ardour of his troops to fresh exertions. He congratulated his soldiers on having, in a campaign of fifteen days, chased the Austrians from Bavaria, annihilated a force of more than hundred thousand men, by the capture

of sixty thousand prisoners, two hundred pieces of cannon, ninety standards, and all the generals; fifteen thousand soldiers only having escaped. At the same time, he roused their emulation, by announcing, — "But we must not stop here; you are impatient to begin a second campaign. That army which English gold has transported from the extremities of the universe, must experience from you the same. In the approaching struggle, the honour of the French infantry is especially concerned: then will be decided, for the second time, the question already determined on the plains of Holland, and amid the mountains of Switzerland, whether the French infantry is the first or the second in Europe. There are no generals against whom I can acquire glory. All my care will be to obtain the victory by the least possible effusion of blood. My soldiers are my children." The reader must have witnessed, as I have done, the prodigious excitement into which his soldiers were wrought by the words of Napoleon, to conceive the effect of such an address.

The second campaign speedily opened, and was hailed with undiminished enthusiasm. There is no exaggeration in saying, that the exploits of the troops surpassed the rapidity of thought. Every courier brought me reports more favourable than I had even dared to hope. Two days after the capitulation of Ulm, Murat, on his side, had shut up General Wurnuk, and forced him to capitulate at Trochtelfrugen. He had taken thirty thousand men; so that, exclusive of the wounded, the Austrian army was diminished by fifty thousand, in the space of twenty days. On the 27th October, the French troops, by crossing the Inn, first penetrated into the Austrian dominions, and immediately occupied Salzburg and Braunau. Massena also obtained important advantages in Italy, having, on the same day, two fortresses surrendered, that is, on the 30th, gained the sanguinary battle of Caldiero, and taken five

thousand prisoners from the Austrians. On the 11th of November, Lintz was captured; and the bold march of Ney upon Innsbruck had rendered us masters of the Tyrol. But I was not prepared for a letter received by an extraordinary courier from Duroc, who, leaving Berlin, had rejoined the Emperor in Lintz. This laconic epistle ran as follows,—“ We are in Vienna! The Emperor is well, and better than ever; he is much pleased with your services at Hamburg, and appears equally contented with my mission at Berlin, although you are engaged in nothing; but I had no doubts of your zeal. I expected me with impatience. I will conceal from him the tergiversations which I witnessed. As much as possible hold yourself informed of proceedings at Berlin, and send me word.” This letter, dated on the 13th, and these words, “ We are in Vienna!” appeared to me like a dream. The capital of Austria, that city which, from time immemorial, had not beheld the face of an armed foe, became the prey of the imperial eagle of France! which, after three centuries, at the close of a campaign of forty days, had thus avenged the humiliation of Francis I, imposed by the griffin eagle of Charles V.*

Austria, however, did not submit without effort, in the field and in the cabinet. An attempt was made through Giulay, already mentioned, with the too palpable design of retarding us in the career of victory, by proposing an armistice, preliminary to a peace, of which the Austrian government professed to be sincerely desirous. The snare was too gross.

* Paul Jovius, at the commencement of the 16th century, wrote the famous line in a satire on Charles V, in favour of Francis I, the Austrian eagle, which has passed into a proverb,—

Aquila Griffinea, che dal becco porta per meglio divorar.

When afterwards the satirist solicited employment from the Emperor, the latter replied to this request by repeating this line.—Translator.

which exercised such influence on the course of the campaign, was subsequently referred to by Lannes himself, who spoke of it as an excellent joke, and seemed much more delighted with having outwitted the Austrians, than considering himself as having performed a splendid action. The hazardous enterprises were so simple and so natural for him, that he was very often the only one who saw nothing unusual in them. What must have been the victims of Napoleon's ambition!

"Conceive," said Lannes to me, "I was during the Prussian campaign; "I was one day strolling with the Emperor along the right bank of the Danube, upon which lay our respective divisions of the army, when, reaching the extremity of the bridge of Tabor, we saw the Austrians at work on the opposite side, busily employed in preparations for blowing up the bridge on the approach of our troops. These rascals had the assurance to work under our very noses; but we gave them a lesson. Our plan being settled and properly arranged, we returned and gave orders. I confided the command of my column of grenadiers to an officer on whose courage and intelligence I could rely. Our dispositions made, Murat and I, with two or three other generals, returned to the bridge. Here we advanced along, quietly and in ease, and with as much composure, as if they were us for simple officers. We entered into conversation with the commander of a post established in the middle of the bridge; conversed, without asserting any thing, and an armistice speedily to us concluded; and in this way contrived to divert the attention of the Austrian officers to the right bank. At this, according to previous orders, my column rushed upon the bridge. The Austrian artillerymen on the right bank, seeing their officers in the midst of us, dared not fire; my grenadiers, with Murat and myself at their head, charged forward; and thus we gained the opposite bank. All the materials prepared for

blowing up the bridge were thrown into the river, and my men took possession of the batteries to protect the passage. The poor devils of Austrian officers remained perfectly stupefied on my telling them that they were our prisoners: it was necessary to bully them a little.*

Such was the recital of Lannes, who laughed most heartily at recalling the figure cut by the Austrian officers, at their consternation at discovering the blunder they had committed. Lannes, however, had foreseen the importance of the enterprise which he had accomplished, though it became evident. Not only was a passage to Vienna thus secured for the army, but an insurmountable barrier interposed between the junction of the Austrian corps under the Archduke Charles with the Russian army. The Archduke, pressed by Massena, had retreated in haste to the heart of the hereditary state, doubting that a general battle would there be decided. I may just advert, in passing, to the disagreeable situation of Prince Charles: forced to take part in a war of which he highly disapproved, but intrusted only with a secondary command in Italy, his reputation was exposed to a compromise, while he had been brought fairly into the contest. Thenceforth he renounced all command in the Austrian armies.

As soon as the corps of Murat and Lannes had taken possession of Vienna, the Emperor ordered all the other divisions of the army to direct their march to the capital, which became, in that sort, the capital of the French army; and he himself, as if at St Cloud, established his head-quarters at Schönbrunn, whence he issued his directions both for forcing the Archduke to retire upon Hungary, and leading his army against the Russians. Leaving

* For some excuse for the folly of the Austrian commanders, it ought to be remembered, that they had seen Gouley depart as envoy to the imperial head-quarters ostensibly to arrange an armistice, and he had not then returned — Translator.

in Vienna ■■■ the environs only four divisions, under Mortier and Marmont, ■■■ took the route for ■■■ (Moravia,) where ■■■ mass of the ■■■ army was believed ■■■ be concentrated. The Russians, however, had marched upon Brann, towards which ■■■ Napoleon then eagerly hastened: "the two armies, in mutual search of each other, could not thus allow ■■■ question ■■■ remain long undecided.

During these forced and next to miraculous marches, ■■■ Lannes constantly commanded the advanced guard. The lofty foresight of the Emperor seemed to augment during the operations ■■■ preceding the battle of Austerlitz: it is certain—and ■■■ many officers, witnesses of the fact, have deposed to that effect in my hearing, for me to doubt its truth—that he himself pointed out the ground in advance upon which he would engage the Russian army, and commanded his generals carefully to examine ■■■ sinuosities, for they would there have to play a high game. Still ■■■ keep ■■■ the persuasion that he desired peace, he had caused ■■■ minister for foreign affairs ■■■ follow the army close at hand, and sent also Savary as envoy to the Emperor of Russia, offering peace, before coming ■■■ blows with him. The conditions, however, were of ■■■ nature which he knew could not be accepted without dishonour, and such as the gain of a ■■■ could not more than authorize.* ■■■ is evident to every reflecting mind, that he acted thus for the purpose of assuming the ■■■ of a pacificator, while he could securely indulge his passion for ■■■

I revert, for a moment, to affairs at Hamburg. On hearing of the march of the Russian troops upon the Electorate, the French in Hanover, ■■■ General Barbon, concentrated in Hameln. On the ■■■ of November, ■■■ King of Sweden arrived ■■■ Stralsund, ■■■ subsequently the Swedo-Russian army crossed

* Savary, Duke of Rovigo, has given an account of this embassy in his Memoirs.—Translator.

at Luneburg, six miles from Hamburg. Government attaching great importance to the intelligence, the Emperor's despatch, to which, I believe, Duroc alluded in the note from Vienna, of which the following is the substance: After relating the movement of the detachments, their force enumerated at fifteen thousand Russians, with fifty-eight pieces of artillery; eight thousand Swedes; and twelve thousand English. I added, "The general opinion is, that these thirty-five thousand troops are destined to attempt a diversion in Holland. The English disembarked in the Weser and Elbe from one hundred and six transports. The passage has been more tedious than expected, and a greater part of the horses perished for want of forage. One transport, with two hundred men, swamped in the Weser, and perished. The King of Sweden is expected at Luneburg to-day or to-morrow. The King of Prussia is to take possession of Bremen, to prevent, he says, its occupation by others."

At all times foreign armies were in the field against France, the emigrants shewed themselves, and several, on the present occasion, took up arms in the Austrian and Russian service. Of this number was General Dumouriez, who, I was informed, had landed in England at Stadt, in company with St Marten, whose wife was the general's mistress. This Marten, whom I reproached with not having arrested, secretly to Hamburg, bought two carriages, and was off to Stadt, fortified, besides, with a brevet in the English service,—a protection against every thing in Hamburg. From Stadt, Dumouriez set out for Moravia.

At this time, the King of Prussia desired to take possession of Hamburg, but Russia, so eager to aggrandise herself, would not permit aggrandisement to others. Things remained thus, and no doubt contributed to encourage the neutrality of Prussia.

December, recruiting for the English service with prodigious success in Hanover, to the extent sometimes of a hundred men a-day. of this misery which prevailed in Germany, the famine in Hanover, hatred towards the French, were the causes, and the English procured as many as they chose. They had several vessels lying on the Elbe with money for purpose. On the 7th of the month, hostilities commenced between the Russians and the garrison of Hameln.

I return now to my accounts from the grand army, and, among other anecdotes of Bonaparte during this campaign, occurs the following, received from Rapp, who was present. — "Some day, before his entry on Vienna, Napoleon, riding along the road on horseback, dressed, as usual, in the uniform of a colonel of the guard, met an open carriage, in which were a lady weeping, and an ecclesiastic. Napoleon drew up to ask the lady whether she was going, and the cause of her tears? Not knowing the Emperor, she replied, — 'Sir, my country house, about two leagues from hence, has been pillaged by some soldiers, who murdered my gardener. I am going to seek your Emperor, who knew my family, and indeed is under obligations to us.' — 'Your name?' — 'De Bunny. I am the daughter of M. de Marboeuf, formerly governor of Comice.' — 'I am delighted, madam,' replied Napoleon, with much kindness, 'to have an opportunity of being serviceable to you. — I am the Emperor.' — 'You cannot imagine,' continued Rapp, 'with what distinction the Emperor treated Madame de Bunny. He reassured her, expressed his regret, and almost personal regret for what had happened. — 'Be pleased, madam, to wait for me at head-quarters, I will see you again presently. all who are connected with M. de Marboeuf have a right to my regard.' The Emperor assigned on the spot a packet of chasubles from his own guard as an escort, visited the lady on the course of the day, and her

attentions, ■■■ munificently indemnified ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ had sustained."

Prior ■ the battle of Austerlitz, Fre■■■ columns were now traversing Germany and Italy in all directions, all tending to Vienna; and about the beginning of November arrived at Salzburg the corps of Bernadotte, for whose presence so much anxiety had been evinced.

■ this day ■■■ at peace with Naples; in September the Emperor ■■■ even concluded a treaty of neutrality with ■■■ IV, which ■■■ ■■■ Cyr, who occupied that city, to evacuate Naples, join Massena in Upper Italy, and, with his corps, follow him up to the grand army, which they reached on the ■■■ November. Scarcely, however, ■■■ ■■■ troops of Saint Cyr quitted the Neapolitan territories, when the king, ill advised by his ministers, and, above all, by Queen Caroline, broke the neutrality, opened ■■■ harbours to the enemies of the Emperor, and received into his states twelve thousand Russians, and eight thousand English. It ■■■ ■■■ learning these ■■■ ■■■ that Napoleon, in one of his most violent bulletins, stigmatised ■■■ Queen of Naples ■ the modern Fredegonde; and subsequent events having added ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ but too powerful an authority, the ■■■ of Naples was decided.

At length arrived the great day, when, according ■ the expression of Napoleon, "the ■■■ of Austerlitz arose." All our forces ■■■ concentrated ■ the same point, about forty leagues beyond Vienna. There remained only the wrecks of the Austrian army, the division of Prince Charles not having been ■■■ ■■■ triumph ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ which held it ■■■ from ■■■ ■■■ of operations; ■ the Russians, of themselves, were superior to us ■ ■■■ ■■■ ber, while their army was composed, in greater part, of fresh troops. Illusion had reached a high pitch ■ the enemy's camp. The north of Europe has its Gascons ■ less than the south of France: the Russian

youth, as I afterwards learned, expressed their
 fidence in loud boasting. The evening before
 battle, Emperor Alexander having sent the Prince
 Dolgoroski, one of his aides-de-camp, to Napoleon
 with a flag of truce, this young man could not
 govern his petulance, even in presence of the Emperor.
 As the conference took place in private, I knew
 the nature of his "impertinence;" but Rapp, being
 in attendance, heard Bonaparte exclaim, in dismissing
 the messenger, "When you are on the heights of
 Montmartre! I can reply to such impertinence only
 with my cannon." Singular phrase, while in thought
 we transport ourselves to the time when I became a
 prediction.

As to the battle, properly so called, I was able to
 speak of it almost as if I had been present, having
 the lively satisfaction of seeing my friend General
 Rapp soon after in Hamburg. His graphic relation
 was as follows:—

"When we arrived at Austerlitz, the Russians,
 ignorant of the Emperor's skilful dispositions to draw
 them to the ground upon which he had resolved to
 engage, and beholding our advanced guards yield before
 their columns, conceived the victory won. According
 to their notions, the advanced guard would suffice to
 secure an easy triumph. But the battle began—they
 found what it was to fight; and, on every point, were
 repulsed. At one o'clock, the victory was
 certain; they fought admirably. They resolved
 on a last effort, and directed close masses against our
 centre. The imperial guard deployed: artillery,
 cavalry, infantry, marched against a bridge which
 the Russians attacked, and their movement, concealed
 by Napoleon by the inequality of the ground, was
 observed by them. At this moment I was standing
 near him, waiting orders. At once we left
 the rolling of a heavy fire of musketry; the
 were repulsing one of our brigades. Hearing the
 sound, the Emperor ordered me to take the Mamelukes,

two squadrons of chasseurs, one of grenadiers of the guard, and to observe the state of things. I set off at full gallop, and, before advancing a cannon-shot, perceived the disaster. The Russian cavalry had penetrated our squares, and were sabring our men. In the distance could be perceived masses of Russian cavalry and infantry in reserve. At this juncture, the enemy advanced; four pieces of artillery arrived at a gallop, and were planted in position against us. ■ my left I had the brave Morland, ■ my right General d'Allemagne. 'Courage, my brave fellows!' cried I ■ my party; 'behold your brothers, your friends, butchered; let us avenge them, avenge ■ standards! Forward!' These few words inspired my soldiers; ■ dashed, at full speed, upon the guns, and carried them. The enemy's horse, which awaited our attack, ■ overthrown by the vigour of the ■ charge, and fled in confusion, ■ we pursued, over the wrecks of our own squares. In the meantime the ■ rallied; but, a squadron of horse grenadiers coming to ■ assistance, I could then halt, and await the ■ of the Russian guard. Again we charged, and this charge was terrible. The brave Morland ■ by my side. It was a veritable butchery where ■ fought man to man, and so mingled together, that the infantry on neither side dared to fire, ■ they should kill their ■. The intrepidity of ■ troops finally ■ in triumph over ■ opposition: the enemy ■ in disorder under the eyes ■ Emperors of Austria and Russia. These sovereigns had taken their station on a rising ground, in order to be spectators of the contest. They ought to have been satisfied, ■ I can assure you they witnessed no child's play. For my own part, my good friend, ■ passed ■ delightful a day. The Emperor received ■ most graciously when I arrived to tell him ■ victory was ours; I still grasped my broken sabre, and as this scratch upon my head bled very copiously, ■ was all covered with gore. ■

named ■■■ general of division. The Russians returned ■■■ again to the charge,—they had had enough; ■■■ captured ■■■ry thing,—their cannon, their baggage, their all, in short, and Prince ■■■■■ among the prisoners.”

Such ■■■ Rapp’s recital, and, in many long ■■■ interesting conversations with this excellent man, I learned other details, which will appear in their proper place. What now remains of Austerlitz? The remembrance—the glory—and magnificent picture of Gerard, the idea of which ■■■ suggested to ■■■ Emperor by the sight of Rapp, covered with ■■■■.

The day after the battle, the Emperor being still in the Chateau of Austerlitz, Prince Lichtenstein, the former envoy ■■■ Ulm, arrived in the evening with ■■■ message from Francis, proposing ■■■ interview. This ■■■ accepted, and the ceremonial concluded on the spot to take place on the morrow, the 4th, for the battle ■■■ been fought on the 2d December, exactly the first anniversary of Napoleon’s coronation. The French Emperor on horseback found himself first at the place appointed for the meeting, at a windmill, about three leagues from Austerlitz. Immediately after, the Emperor of Austria arrived, in ■■■ open carriage. When Napoleon observed him approaching, he alighted, advanced on foot, surrounded by his aides-de-camp, and embraced Francis on accosting ■■■. During the interview, Napoleon ■■■ attended by Berthier only, and Francis by Prince Lichtenstein, so ■■■ ■■■ aides-de-camp—from ■■■ of whom, Lauriston, ■■■ received these details—could ■■■ overhear the conference, the subject of which ■■■ easy ■■■ divine. I ■■■ portray to myself Bonaparte, endeavouring ■■■ seduce his vanquished enemy by those insinuating words, of which he possessed the ■■■■■ in so great a degree, seeking, in some sort, to palliate ■■■ ■■■ glory by the ■■■■■ of affected modesty. ■■■ may, in like manner, paint the humiliation of the ■■■■■ father-in-law, forced to obey the imperious

of necessity. What a situation for the successor Charles V! The Emperors remained together nearly two hours, and separated as they had met, in embrace. On returning slowly towards his army, the Emperor must have experienced the internal complacency of gratified pride: he seemed wholly absorbed in meditation, which he suddenly broke off to send an aide-de-camp to the Emperor of Austria. Savary was selected for this purpose. The object of his mission was to inform Francis, that the Emperor orders him to proceed to the head-quarters of Alexander, to receive his adherence to the terms, agreed upon by the two Emperors at their conference. Alexander agreed to every thing, saying, that since the King of the Romans (the only title yet vouchsafed to the Emperor of Austria) was satisfied, so was he; for his sake only had he interfered, and, consequently, found himself disengaged—having no wish to form for himself. Thus terminated the hostilities of this campaign, which elevated the glory of Napoleon to the highest pitch. The diplomacy of France and Austria assembled in Presburg, and there the negotiations were begun and carried on till the 25th, when all was concluded on that day three months from the time Napoleon left Paris. Russia, though she had taken part in the war, took no part in the negotiations: hostilities ceased between her and France, but without any treaty of peace being established.

The Emperor had solemnly announced to his Senate, on leaving Paris, that he wished no aggrandisement for France; and he kept his word. Judging, apparently, that the promises of the Emperor of the French did not bind the King of Italy, he ordered matters, that, by the treaty of Presburg, were conceded—not to France, but to Italy—the ancient territories of Venice in Dalmatia &c. In virtue of the same treaty, the Elector of Bavaria, with the title of king, received the principality of Richstett, a part of the territory of Passau, the Tyrol,

and the important city of Augsburg. The Elector of Wirtemberg was likewise [redacted] the regal dignity, and all [redacted] Austrian possessions in Swabia, Bregenz, and Ortenau, were divided between the two [redacted] kings, and [redacted] Elector of Baden created Grand Duke. To have the appearance of granting [redacted] concessions, Salzburg and Berchtoldsgaden were yielded to Austria, while [redacted] Archbishop of Salzburg was assigned [redacted] principality of Wastburg, erected into a grand duchy; Napoleon thus rewarding the good ecclesiastic with a province, for the hospitable reception [redacted] [redacted] given him, [redacted] his way to conquest. The [redacted] [redacted] recognized the independence of the [redacted] and Helvetic republics, while it disannulled the Teutonic order. Thus was explained to [redacted] the expression, "I have views on Germany," [redacted] employed by the Emperor in our last interview.

After the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon [redacted] himself for a few days at Brunn, in order to superintend the cantoning of his troops. Here he ascertained the losses, [redacted] his aide-de-camp to visit the hospitals, and to present, in his name, each wounded soldier with a napoleon, (16s. 8d.) To all wounded officers also, [redacted] caused gratifications to be distributed, from five [redacted] three thousand francs, (£ 21 to £ 125,) according to their rank.

The Emperor then set out for Schenbrunn, where he arrived, without stopping ■ Vienna, through which he passed during the night. ■ the morning after his arrival, he received for the first time the Prussian minister, M. de Haugwitz, who had been for some time in Vienna, negotiating with Talleyrand, and who found himself ■ critically situated as can well be conceived for a diplomatist. ■ Prussian envoy was very saucily received, as may be supposed, and treated ■ haughtiness ■ severity. "Is that a loyal conduct," demanded the Emperor, "which your master holds towards us? ■ would have been far more honourable to have declared war

at once, although he has no cause for so doing. Then he would have served his new allies, for I should have had to look two ways before giving battle. You would be the friends of all parties: that is not possible; you must choose between them and me. If you wish to side with these gentlemen, go—I will not; but, if you hold with me, I desire sincerity, or I separate myself from you: I prefer open enemies to false friends. What sense is there in that? you call yourself my allies, and yet permit, in Hanover, a body of thirty thousand Russians to communicate with the grand army across your states: nothing can justify such conduct; it is an overt act of hostility. If your powers are not sufficiently ample to treat of all these questions, inform yourself; I shall march against my enemies wherever they are to be found." The Emperor was excited, and my informant, Lauriston, and spoke so loud, that we heard him very distinctly, although in a different apartment.

The situation of the Prussian envoy was a delicate one; the so, too, the grievances of which Napoleon complained were not without foundation. The truth is, that Haugwitz had come from Berlin solely in quality of observer, and having only conditional instructions. When the Emperor been beaten by the coalition, the cabinet of Berlin instructed the representative frankly to declare for the victors, but the result of the battle being so eminently in favour of the French, the object of the mission dared not be assigned. Seeing that Prussia was likely to be alone against triumphant France—that peace, unquestionably, would soon be agreed upon—urged on, moreover, by the menacing words of Napoleon, who never threatened in vain, Haugwitz, finding no other means of averting the storm ready upon his country, took upon himself, by the sovereign, to sign a treaty, in virtue of which, the margravates of Bareuth and Anspach

were exchanged for Hanover. I am far from any intention of justifying such a procedure, but, doubtless, ■■■ reproaches ■■■ not to be laid upon the ambassador, as if he ■■■ under ordinary circumstances. In that case, ■■■ incredible want ■■■ address could ■■■ have been too severely reprobated in ■■■ changing two provinces for Hanover, which belonged ■■■ England, and for which his master would have ■■■ that government. But hope ■■■ Berlin, though despair only presented itself ■■■ Hangwitz ■■■ Vienna, and he thought, by thus ■■■ fixing ■■■ part, to ■■■ the whole

While these things ■■■ transacting in the Austrian capital, I learned, by my bulletins, that the Count de Hardenberg, *by order of his master*, ■■■ concluded a new treaty with England,—a circumstance which rendered the position ■■■ Prussia, with regard to her ■■■ allies, exceedingly harard ■■■ complicated. How get out of ■■■ embarrassment ■ yet get free of it they must, while Frederick William and his cabinet saw no means of safety. To Napoleon, they could ■ longer allege even a dubious ■■■ plea of neutrality. Thus, war could not be avoided: the only question was, shall it be with France or England. The former was in the strength of recent ■■■ tory, and t' e latter ■■■ granted a subsidy of fifteen millions. Haugwitz, having signed his treaty at Vienna, set out immediately for Berlin. On the road, he met Colonel Pfuhl, despatched to inform him of the treaty concluded by the cabinet at home. The two returned ■■■ together.* At this moment, all the diplomats ■■■ were in motion, although Bonaparte had greatly simplified their calling; for, ■ far ■ concerned him, only two principles ■■■ composed the diplomatic code—"My will, or war."

His Prussian Majesty, as may well be imagined,

* Thus making, if the pun may be allowed, "a pair of fools" (Pfuhl pronounced Fool)

expressed the most lively dissatisfaction with the proceedings at Vienna. Never, perhaps, had sovereign been placed in more perplexity. The difficulties of the case, recourse was had to one of political shifts, which may retard, can never avert, danger. It was conceived, that the clause in the treaty which respected Hanover might be refused, until the sanction of England should be obtained,—a sanction which, very obviously, would be procured. To escape the immediate of Napoleon, the two margravates were sacrificed, and Hanover was received as in pledge, till the conclusion of a general peace. After all, the Emperor, in thus dealing away Hanover, absolutely bestowed nothing: it belonged not to him—not even by military occupation; for the occupying division had been recalled at the commencement of campaign.

Still there were hopes for Prussia. The Russians, indeed, had retired from the field of battle at Austerlitz, but without renouncing all hostile action: the Emperor Alexander acknowledged Napoleon either Emperor of the French, King of Italy. I remember to have heard even, that, having occasion to write before the battle, the superscription of the letter ran,—“To the Chief of the French government.” In fact, at the very moment, the French cabinet at Vienna knew nothing of the treaty with England, and entertained doubts of the validity of the one just signed by Haugwitz, the Russian general, Buxhoeveden, at the head of a corps of thirty thousand men, after passing the Vistula at Warsaw, was in full march for Bohemia. This was one of the fruits of Alexander’s journey to Berlin: the prince induced the King of Prussia to make cause with the coalition; but the fortune of Napoleon anticipated the declaration. Duroc had witnessed the interviews of the two sovereigns; their political negotiations been so adroitly

managed, under this, in appearance, amicable intercourse, that neither he, nor our minister, Delaforest, spite of their rare sagacity, could discover, certainly, to which party the Prussian cabinet would adhere. Probably King himself had not exactly made

mind, and, besides, there existed of opinion among his counsellors, of whom M de Hardenberg and the Queen inclined more directly hostility against France, Frederick William

Amid these diplomatic arrangements, results of brilliant successes, the Emperor received intelligence of the disaster of Trafalgar, which been nearly contemporaneous with his own surrender of Admiral Villeneuve, who, with Gravina, commanded the combined fleets of France and Spain, sailed from Cadix, with the intention of attacking the English fleet under the orders of the famous Admiral Nelson. The southern shores of the Peninsula witnessed this naval combat, in which thirty-one French engaged thirty-three British ships, and, notwithstanding this equality of force, eighteen of our fleet were captured or destroyed. This great gave the world a new proof of inferiority sea, both in materiel and seamanship. Admiral Calder given us a lesson which Nelson completed, — but the expense of his life. A bloodier naval engagement had not taken place the renowned Armada equivalent the destruction of

* In English writers, diversity of statement appears relative Nelson's force, but the best accounts make it amount to only twenty-seven sail of the line, which were brought into action in two divisions. Nelson had the weather line of fourteen, and Collingwood the lee of thirteen ships. But in the order of sailing of the previous day, an advanced squadron of six two-deckers is mentioned. Now, strange as it may appear, writers have left it a question whether these latter are, or are not, included in the order of fighting among the line of battle ships. The decision of this would decide whether Bournoni's number is right or wrong — Translator

whole fleet, since the thirteen ships escaped almost wrecks. For a space, courage gave hope to the French, as I learned by my information from Vienna; but finally they obliged yield to the superior tactics of the enemy. Our power was thus indefinitely paralysed, and an end put to every thought of an attempt upon England. The day fatal to three admirals; Nelson lost in the fight, Gravina died of wounds, Villeneuve, a prisoner, was carried to England, where he committed suicide.

News of this disastrous conflict known by public report, and from foreign papers, but all intelligence of it prohibited in France; carefully was the catastrophe then concealed, that, till the Restoration, not public print dared speak of it, throughout the whole extent of the empire. The details, however, no Hamburg. The mercantile interest speedily informed of them; and I had learned many of the particulars from my own agents, before receiving any communication official statement from the minister for foreign affairs then at Vienna.

The intelligence gave profound uneasiness to Napoleon; but of its effects he allowed no indication. I lent the credit to my information on this point, that I knew Bonaparte permitted two things engrossed equally and at the same time. When events jostled with his projects, he threw them up, so to speak, for the future, in order to consider them at a fitting season; but banished from his thoughts—such incredible empire could he exercise on himself—every reflection which might distract his mind from the dominating idea of his empire. Thus, entirely absorbed in the design of terminating the campaign by one grand stroke, he escaped provisionally from the thought of Trafalgar; to this ability of concentrating his whole mental energies on one aim, success is often to be

General Rapp, to whose opportune visit my readers
 so much indebted, had not reached Hamburg
 direct. He had made a tour, both of business and
 pleasure. "We been fifteen days Schön-
 brunn," continued the general, "since the battle;
 I had resumed my duties of aide-de-camp
 near the Emperor's person, when he for, and
 me, 'If my wound would permit of travelling?'
 Upon assurance in the affirmative, 'Go, then,' said
 he, 'be off, and relate the details of the battle of
 Ansterlitz to Marmont; make him his
 that he not with us.' I set out, and agreeably
 to my instructions, presented myself Gratz. Here
 I found Marmont sufficiently cast down at having
 been absent that great day. I told him, always
 in conformity with the Emperor's directions, that
 negotiations were begun, but nothing concluded;
 he was, therefore, to hold himself in readiness for
 either event. I took cognizance of the of his
 army in Stiria, and the number of enemies in
 front; and, after instructing him to send spies in
 abundance into Hungary, and to transmit to the
 Emperor the result of their reports, I took the road
 Laybach. Here I joined Massena, the head of
 the eighth corps of the army, to whom I communicated
 the Emperor's intention that he should march, with
 all speed, upon Vienna, in of hearing that nego-
 tiations had been broken. Thence I continued
 my progress Venice, afterwards till I
 fallen in with Saint Cyr and troops, who had
 orders to face about, and retrace their march to
 Nöles, the Emperor having, by this time, learned the
 treachery of king, and the landing of English and
 Russians. Having executed these various missions,
 I returned by way of Klagenfurth, where I saw
 Ney, and subsequently joined the Emperor
 Munich. Here I had much pleasure in
 assembled all friends, the excellent
 Josephine, who always amiable—ever you have

known her. For my part, I was delighted on my arrival to hear that the Emperor had adopted Eugene. I was present at his marriage with the Princess Augusta. As to that affair, you know fêtes are not much to my liking, and the Emperor might very well have dispensed with my services as chamberlain. Eugene had no idea of what was going forward, when the Emperor sent to desire his presence at Munich with all speed. He, too, is still the same; always our comrade. At first I was not very pleased with a political marriage; but, after seeing him intended, he got quite in raptures, really, I do assure you, she is charming."

CHAPTER VII.

FINANCIAL DISTRESS IN FRANCE—THE
 OUVRARD—INJUSTICE OF THE EMPEROR—
 THE AT — — — — —
 OF MIND—OVERTURES TO THE FOX—HIS
 GENEROUS CONDUCT—ELEVATION OF THE
 THE IMPERIAL FAMILY—WAR WITH THE
 ITS RESULTS—BATTLE OF JENA—DEATH OF THE
 BRUNSWICK.

WHILE the Emperor might naturally have expected that his brilliant success would rouse the public in France, he learned that a general alarm was spreading, the bank assailed, and its notes at five per cent discount. At the same time, in Hamburg, the paper money of France had reached twenty-two per cent below par. The public funds were falling; and the condition of this grand thermometer of public opinion had a corresponding effect upon the imperial temper. An immense financial enterprise of the famous Ouvrard was the proximate cause of the embarrassment of the treasury. In this speculation the treasury had lent itself; and, had the original scheme been followed out, under the management of the rigid probity of the projector, there can be no doubt that it would have proved advantageous to Spain, and ultimately to France.

I knew Mr. Ouvrard well: the majority of the facts to be related, passed under my eyes; and, in 1808, during a visit to Hamburg, he himself showed me of the details of his gigantic operations. Though a bankrupt in 1806, before the 18th Brumaire, he had

sixty millions, (£ 2,500,000) which he owed a single franc. celebrated financier, his variations his fortune, the activity of his life, and the immense undertakings in which it passed, have excited general attention. Upon these a judgment is not to be hastily formed: the of a paper manufacturer, who, by unaided efforts, could raise himself into such eminence, is an ordinary person. At the same time, his habits of his dealings, and the probity and secrecy with which he kept his engagements, aided not a little in procuring him the management of affairs. Many a time have I witnessed the arts and the menaces of the First Consul, vainly employed to obtain a single revelation capable of compromising any. But I must regularly interrogate my old recollections, in order to explain the gradual progress of the frightful crisis of 1805. On attaining to the consulate, Bonaparte had found Ouvrard one of the navy for supplying the Spanish fleet. This situation he owed to the Prince of Peace, which, in three years, netted millions, (£ 625,000,) being held in piastres at three francs and a fraction, while in reality they were worth nearly five a half francs. But then this money was in Mexico, Spain could not bring it home; yet her marine must be victualled. While we were still the Luxembourg, one morning, (25th January, 1800,) during breakfast, the Consul to me, "Bourrienne, my part is taken; I order Ouvrard to be arrested." — "General, have you proofs against him?" — "Proofs! he not a contractor? he must disgorge! these contractors and provision vendors are many knaves. How have they made their fortunes? the expense of the I will no longer suffer such disorder. They have millions; they wallow in insolent luxury; while my soldiers have neither bread nor shoes! I'll no more of this. At the latest, I shall speak to the to-day, and we'll what done."

I waited with impatience [] return, [] know what [] passed — "Well, General?" — "The order [] given," I [] uneasy [] Ouvrard, thus [] more like a Turk than a citizen of the Republic; but learned in the evening that the arrest [] [] been executed, because he could not be found. On the morrow, I knew positively [] a member, whom [] [] name, escaped [] the council-room [] minute, and, writing [] a slip of paper with a pencil, advertised, by a [] domestic, the unfortunate financier of his danger. Before evading the officers, Ouvrard had secured his private papers: thus no one [] compromised. The Consul, however, had his curiosity satisfied [] point,—he found vouchers that the contractor had lent such and such [] to Madame Bonaparte.

Some days afterwards, Ouvrard delivered himself up. Furious [] his escape, Bonaparte [] equally enraged [] this. "The fool," said he, speaking [] me [] the subject, "he little knows what is awaiting him!" He thinks he [] thus make the public believe he has clean hands,—that he has nothing to fear: but [] is bad play; he shall not thus come round []. It is in vain to talk. Bourrienne, you may depend upon this, that, when a man has so much money, [] cannot have [] honestly by it; and, besides, all these fellows with such fortunes [] dangerous. In a revolutionary time, no one ought to have [] than three millions, (£125,000) and that [] [] much."

As Ouvrard had many and powerful friends, great interest was made to get some one to speak in his []. Berthier, notwithstanding many entreaties, refused. "I dare not—it is quite impossible; [] would [] [] Visconti's pinmoney [] [] bottom." I cannot exactly remember [] what circumstance the contractor owed his freedom, but he was [] long confined; and, granting his liberation, Bonaparte asked him for twelve millions, (half

a million sterling.) Ouvrard refused. He had revenge, however; for, wishing to go to Mexico to recover the money due by Spain, Ouvrard applied, through Talleyrand, for a special passport, and thus became the victim of too great caution. I was in the cabinet, and can fancy still hearing the dry *No!* the only answer to the minister's application. When he was alone, Bonaparte said,—"Are you not quite of opinion, Bourrienne, that Ouvrard made a good job of his business with the Prince of Peace? but then why, if he is an imbecil, send Talleyrand to ask him for a passport? That awakens suspicion. Why should he have got a passport as every body else does? Is he I who grant them? He is a fool—so much the worse for himself."

I was sorry for the disappointment; and not the less so, that Ouvrard offered me a share in any arrangements he might make with Spain. His brother undertook the mission, and succeeded, having found in Mexico seventy-one millions of piastres due to government, among which were his brother's four millions for the Spanish fleet at Brest, set apart and marked. In 1802, a frightful scarcity desolated France. A remedy had become absolutely necessary, both to the government and to quiet the people. Ouvrard applied to, and, with Wanlerberghe, undertook to import grain. This they did to the amount of twenty-six millions, (£1,085,000,) accepting for this grain drawn from them by foreign vendors, treasury bills at six months, government selling the grain. When due, the treasury disbonoured; but six months afterwards the treasury was ready to pay, on condition the government should retain half the profit on the commission. The government refused, and the treasury refused it to be still more profitable to pay nothing. The hope of recovering this loss induced the house to continue transactions with government, and in length, in 1804, the three partners, Ouvrard, Wanlerberghe, and Seguin, of whom the first was

responsible, were creditors to the amount of one hundred and two millions, (£4,250,000) The delay of the retarding these treasury payments began to become to a very serious extent, when Ouvrard and Company agreed to accept orders on the receivers-general for one hundred and fifty millions, and to pay off the one hundred and two which government owed. In this contract Despres was agent, to whom the house transferred their bonds at a discount.

In 1805, Ouvrard contracted with the treasury for the expenses of the year, for the amount of four hundred millions, (£16,500,000) At this time, thirty-two millions were due from Spain of a subsidy of seventy-one millions, (nearly £8,000,000,) which she had agreed to pay us, while a grievous famine raged in that country. Ouvrard despatched an agent to Madrid, to negotiate the payment of the outstanding balance, and, on this occasion, contracted with the Spanish government the vast enterprise of conducting the exclusive trade of the colonies, and of importing on his account the gold and silver bullion received from them. For these privileges, he agreed to pay France thirty-two millions, and to bring them to the country. After some delay and difficulty, he eventually came to his terms of the conditions, the following treaty, probably the most extraordinary ever entered into between a sovereign and a private individual, was signed by Charles IV of Spain at Madrid. "Ouvrard and Company are authorised to export, to all the harbours of the New World, all merchandise and provisions necessary for their consumption, and to import from all the Spanish colonies, during the whole of the war with England, all articles of gold or silver coming from these colonies." Immediately after the signing of this compact, whence the king was to derive great profit, Ouvrard received acceptances from the treasury of Madrid, for the sum of one hundred millions.

sixty-two millions (£6,750,000) in piastres, to be brought from America. ■■■■ mean time, ■■■■ paid ■■■■ the debt to France, and brought into Spain two ■■■■ of quintals of grain, at twenty-six francs (£1, 1s. 8d.) the quintal. This required ■■■■ outlay; and, before he could reap any advantage, or even be reimbursed for ■■■■ advances to the treasury of Paris, ■■■■ was necessary to bring the piastres into Europe. Some ■■■■culties being got over, the English government agreed to facilitate this part of the arrangement, and ■■■■ four frigates ■■■■ transporting the specie.

Ouvrard ■■■■ only commenced these amazing operations when the Emperor precipitated himself from the camp ■■■■ Boulogne upon Germany. Funds were required. Ouvrard was sent for—negotiated ■■■■ fully with the house of Hope ■■■■ Amsterdam—and instantly returned to Madrid. In the midst of the most flattering prospects from these gigantic speculations, he found himself at once menaced by a crisis brought on through the misconduct of his agent, Despres, who, without consulting his principal, had agreed to pay up the four hundred millions for the current expenditure. In these circumstances, ■■■■ treasury thought itself authorized ■■■■ draw upon Ouvrard for fifty millions, (£2,083,000,) the minister declaring ■■■■ had granted to the partners a very advantageous disposition, ■■■■ that, trusting to this sum being remitted, he ■■■■ came under obligations. The money was sent; but a few days after arrived in Madrid a commissioner from Paris, the bearer of a ministerial despatch for Ouvrard, to collect all possible assets, and to return to Paris. The treasury ■■■■ in the greatest embarrassment, alarm becoming general. Of this the immediate causes were the following:—The treasury, by a circular, had authorized ■■■■ receivers-general ■■■■ remit to Despres ■■■■ disposable funds, to be placed to its account—current for liquidation of ■■■■ bonds ■■■■ by him.

■■■■ authorization was probably very wrong, but Despres resolved to profit thereby, and ■■■■ into speculations which, in ■■■■ situation, ■■■■ very imprudent. ■■■■ wrote to the receivers-general to transmit to him all the money they could procure below eight per cent, procuring an advance above ■■■■ rate. Money poured in from all quarters, and chests ■■■■ daily received in Despres's office, from every part of France. He lent fifty millions to the merchants of Paris, which reduced him to ■■■■ for ready cash; to meet the demand, he placed in the bank the treasury bonds, which had, ■■■■ an extent, been liquidated by ■■■■ ■■■■ remitted through the receivers-general, ■■■■ was found on presenting the bills of Despres. The bank became alarmed when Despres, instead of specie, sent in only his acceptances, and called upon him to explain the state of his affairs. Fears augmented, ■■■■ ■■■■ participated in by the public; in short, ■■■■ species of financial panic seized all minds; the ■■■■ suspended payments, and its ■■■■ fell twelve per cent ■■■■ stroke. Terrified at such ■■■■ crisis, in the absence of the Emperor, the minister of the treasury, M. Marbois, convoked ■■■■ council, wherein Joseph presided, ■■■■ which Despres and Wanlerberghe ■■■■ examined. Informed of all, Ouvrard hastened from Madrid, applied to his correspondent Hope, and negotiated a sale of fifteen millions of piastres, at ■■■■ francs each. Ouvrard ■■■■ purchased ■■■■ piastres at ■■■■ francs, consequently was very happy to dispose of them at this rate;* but his abrupt departure from Madrid, and the state of financial matters ■■■■ Paris, alarmed the Spanish government, which withdrew ■■■■ ■■■■ engagement, and he ■■■■ thus unable to make ■■■■ advance of piastres. ■■■■ bankruptcy of Despres produced ■■■■ dreadful result upon houses ■■■■ ■■■■ hitherto enjoyed boundless confidence, and through-

* He thus gained on each piastre sevenpence halfpenny sterling. — *Translator*.

France, where the crisis continued to agitate all minds, till the news of the victory of Austerlitz, and the hope of approaching peace allayed the ferment.*

Precisely as if to temper the pride of victory, the Emperor learned the troublesome situation of the treasury and bank on the day following the battle of Austerlitz. He previously knew there were difficulties, but only then was informed of the extent of the evil. The numerous afflictive reports transmitted, accelerated his departure from Vienna; and the very evening of his return to Paris, as I have heard, while going up the stair of the Tuileries, he pronounced the dismissal of the minister of finance, M. de Marbois. The severity of the functionary had raised him up many enemies, yet he was accused of having compromised the treasury through weakness. Even Madame de Stael, upon hearing the unyielding firmness of Marbois, exclaimed, "firm! he is only a reed bronzed." Be that as it may, Napoleon's resentment knew no bounds; and Marbois was replaced by Mollien.

He finished this fatal catastrophe in finance: but all was not yet over with Ouvrard. It may naturally be supposed that the imperial hand—not always a hand of justice—sometimes made its power be felt. In February, 1806, the Emperor issued two decrees, in which he declared the contractors for 1804 and 1805, with their agent Desprez, debtors to the treasury for eighty-seven millions (£3,625,000,) received since August, and applied by them to private and personal speculations with Spain. Who would not think, from this last expression, that Napoleon had a great interest in the mighty project of the two Americas? He was personally, and deeply too, concerned in it; but he must needs never be known in anything not successful. He acted with authority

* Among other houses which were thus ruined, was that of M. Hervas, father-in-law to General Duroc.

his decrees, he everywhere the effects and piastres of the company, made a great deal of money; and, if advantage can result to a sovereign from the prostitution of public credit, enjoyed advantage, together with the consolation of having reduced an enterprising subject, the partner of a king in the commerce of the world, to a state of bankruptcy.

These interesting details have seduced me from my path: I now resume my duties of minister plenipotentiary, wherein events a little curious occasionally took place. The year 1806 began my troubles, with the effects of the literary propensities of Louis XVIII, in shape of a "Declaration," transmitted by post the 1st of January. This production had been dispersed in vast numbers, being in a form easily transmissible, into France, as a letter. On the 16th, I received a despatch from Fouché, with three envelopes of the work of the *Pretender*, urging me to procure as many such as possible, and transmit them to him. From this duty I got free, by pleading its impossibility, knowing well, that the object was to compromise individuals, who had received a letter without being aware of its contents. In this dispersion, Dumouriez, whose carriage was loaded with copies, had been very active; indeed his occupation had now dwindled to reading pamphlets, more indifferent. At this date, Germany, especially the Hanse Towns, was inundated with such writings. Before the proclamation, of these odious of these pamphlets had appeared under the title, "Bonaparte, which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name.—Rome, printed by the Pope."* The expressions were horrible, but I could discover the author, though I prevented the circulation of the tract. Fauche-Borel, our old friend, was very active in printing these annoyances.

* Bonaparte, der da ist im Himmel, geheiligt werde. — Rom, in der päpstlichen Buchdruckery.

In February, I was enabled to answer fully an information received from the ministry of police in Paris, relative to one named Dranob, who, with Lesemple, had formed a plot against the life of the Emperor. The name was an anagram of Bonard, the true appellation of the former, who, in female disguise, had escaped from the Conciergerie in 1798; and represented himself to me as having been an officer in the light artillery. Few examples occur of knaves with so much courage and address.

Arriving in Hamburg, about the commencement of 1805, I fulfil these engagements, which, as I was entered into with the English government, Bonard, instead of killing the Emperor, thought it would be better to inform against his accomplice Lesemple. Discovering, probably, that my agents were in search of him, he called upon me, of his own accord, and placed in my hands certain papers which he had long concealed about his person. These documents, written in a very small character, and rolled up carefully, were enclosed in a tin case, very nicely made, very slender, and about six inches long. It was concealed about his person so as not by any possibility to be discovered, and in a way which I dare not attempt to describe. It contained, likewise, a small file, of a brownish metal, which cut iron as a knife cuts paper,—an instrument several times discovered by the police of Paris on the persons of other malefactors. All these papers were written by Lesemple, and contained extracts from the correspondence of the two relative to their nefarious enterprise. That nothing might be wanting in the chain of evidence, I found a quarrel had taken place between the two villains, at the moment of embarking at Harwich, and a combat fought, in the burying-ground of the town, the knives which they had been using at the tavern. Relating this transaction, Bonard suddenly uncovered his right side, and shewed me a frightful gash, still

bleeding. Let the reader imagine the situation; alone, with the most athletic man I have ever beheld, baring his breast, covered with gore, and confiding to me his fearful design of murder,—not from repentance, but from the belief that its discovery would be more profitable than the accomplishment, producing, at the same time, the proofs of his own villainy, concealed in a manner so incredible! While his schemes were denounced, Lescaupé was on his way from Holland. Assured by Bonard that his prompt arrival might be expected in Hamburg, I took measures to have him arrested, and began to entertain apprehensions, when, at length, he did appear, having been detained by the Russians as a spy, and, on the 19th, I had him suddenly seized, with his papers, of which he could thus conceal none. I examined him, and his confession confirmed the horrible details before given by his associate. In his pocket-book were three passports, made out by himself, a bill of exchange, the product likewise of his own manufacture. Upon his person were found several packets carefully made up, and each ticketed *fifty louis*, but which, on being opened, were discovered to be filled with copper only, as also a purse with counters of the same metal. These he used for deceiving at the gaming table. He was at once pickpocket, spy, forger, and assassin. I had promised Bonard to send him to Paris free, in order to reply in person to the examination of the minister of police; but such characters cannot be a single day in a place without being sullied with some crime, he was accused of being accessory to several robberies in Hamburg, and, accordingly, consigned by the prefect to the care of the police. Fearing such recommendation, however, he contrived to escape, but was taken some days after, and sent under a good escort to Paris.

Yet, among such degraded men have I found rare instances of courage and presence of mind. I find an agent among the Swedo-Russians, named Chefneux,

who [redacted] detected almost in the act of espionage, with a bulletin, just ready [redacted] me, though fortunately addressed [redacted] a merchant [redacted] Hamburg. He had also a letter of recommendation, which I [redacted] procured from a gentleman intimately known [redacted] the Russian minister, which saved him summary punishment from the Cossacks. With all these precautions, it [redacted] still suspected that he had [redacted] connection with [redacted]. After many fruitless examinations, [redacted] effort remained. Chefneux, condemned [redacted] shot, [redacted] out to the plain of Luneburg, with a bandage [redacted] his [redacted] he heard the word, "Make ready," given to the squad, and the ticking of the locks of the muskets. At this moment a person approached, [redacted] whispered [redacted] his ear, in a tone of interest and kindness, "I am your friend, only say you know [redacted] de Bourrienne, and you are saved"—"No!" cried Chefneux, with astonishing firmness, "I should then lie." The bandage fell from [redacted] eyes, and he [redacted] restored to liberty, with the assurance of not getting off [redacted] easily a second [redacted]. It would be difficult to mention an instance of [redacted] extraordinary presence of mind.

Sometimes, too, I had it in my power [redacted] do good, [redacted] by instruments of evil. In March of this year, [redacted] M. de la Ferrouays, at Brunswick, [redacted] denounced by the Parisian police, [redacted] a very dangerous man. I sent the [redacted] Chefneux, giving him five hundred francs per month, to live as a gentleman, and he quickly insinuated himself into the good graces [redacted] [redacted] suspected and his friends. I was obliged to send him information [redacted] Paris, but, from the [redacted] I [redacted] otherwise heard De la Ferrouays mentioned, he [redacted] awakened a lively interest in my mind, and I resolved to save him. Orders had been given for his arrest, [redacted] he passed through Hamburg for England, notice of this journey having been forwarded by his friend my agent. Travelling under another name, with the farther protection of secretary to Lord Kinnaird, a

title granted by his lordship, ■■■■ a momentary stay only in passing ■ Altona, saved him here. But he was ■■■■ after guilty of an imprudence which ■■■■ nearly proved ■■■■ to himself, and compromised me. One evening, while at the opera, the prefect of police came up to me, saying M. de ■ Ferrouays ■■■■ the house, and requiring ■■■■ order for his arrest. He directed my attention to a young man wearing powder, whom I ■■■■ recognized from Chefneux's description. ■■■■ desired to befriend the young emigrant—but how save him now? "You must arrest him," said I to the prefect; "but first I shall take precaution ■■■■ have it done quietly, without alarming ■■■■ house;" and, slipping out, I begged one, on whom I could rely, to pass the unsuspecting victim, so as not to be observed, and whisper him to flee. Returning instantly to my box, "Now, do your duty," said I to the prefect; but, before he had shut the door upon me, I saw the intimation given, and Ferrouays ■■■■ on the road to Altona.*

* M. de la Ferrouays, a personage of considerable note, and of excellent character, was one of the closest and most attached friend of M. de Rivière, with whom the reader ■■■■ already acquainted, and whose life offers one of the few noble ■■■■ of piety to his God and devotion to his sovereign, by which the sad history of the French Revolution is occasionally brightened. The Marquis de Rivière ■■■■ born in 1763, consequently, in 1804, when tried as an accomplice, in the memorable machinations of Georges and Pelegre, had attained his thirtieth year. Subsequently he underwent a most rigorous confinement of four years; put in a dungeon in the castle of Lons, and afterwards, with some alleviation, granted by the humanity of his gaoler, ■■■■ Strasbourg. ■■■■ the Restoration, he ■■■■ created Duke de Rivière, and the last service which he performed to ■■■■ royal master, was the most important of all, as preceptor to the Duke ■■■■ Bourdeaux, ■■■■ of the Duke de Berry, and then heir to the throne ■■■■ France. This office he discharged so conscientiously, ■■■■ renounced every other engagement, sleeping even in the apartment of the young prince, in order that he might devote night and day to the study and formation of his character. The education of the Duke de Bourdeaux, so far as it is advanced, has

But, to execrating espionage spies, I am constrained to acknowledge the necessity under which the Emperor lay of being on his guard against the multitude of intrigues, hatched in the vicinity of Hamburg, especially surrounded, as that place was by the Russians, Swedes, English, still in arms; when the treaty with stood — On the 5th of January, the Swedish monarch had approached, with his troops, to the very gates of Hamburg. had menaced the hapless senate with the weight of his displeasure, nor having, on my demand, ordered the colours to be removed which had been hung out over the Austrian recruiting office. Deputies from city were, after some delay, received into the royal presence, and the storm blew past. The king, with six thousand men, seemed resolved playing the part of the restorer of Germany, and of exhibiting himself as the Don Quixote of the treaty of Westphalia. At this time his head-quarters were Boëtzenburg, on the north bank of the As a against dulness in stationary warfare,

perhaps been more carefully conducted than that of any of the young princes of Europe. He lost his last affectionate preceptor, the subject of this note, in April, 1838. Upon the Duke de Rivière's being announced, Charles X. feelingly said, "My sorrow is two-fold; I grieve as a man and as a monarch, nor do I know in which capacity I feel my loss more severely my poor child is now twice an orphan." The reader will determine whether the conclusion of the memoir be affecting or merely glib. — "As an expression of tender respect for the memory of the Duke de Rivière, Charles X. has taken charge of his eldest son, in order that he may be educated along with the Duke de Bourdeaux. Like his father, young De Rivière will thus ever be near his royal master, but more fortunate still, he will not experience the grief of attending his king in exile." This was printed in 1838. — In these posthumous memoirs I have found many proofs of Bourrienne's accuracy in matters which the two parties view very differently. M. de Ferronaye, is the same person who, in 1827-28, conducted the measures instituted by Charles X. for the relief of the Armenian Greeks, driven from Constantinople. — Translator.

the king sent for Dr Gall, then at Hamburg, where he lectured on his system, which was rejected, by false science and prejudice, subsequently adopted, in consequence of his arguments, which, in my mind, are incontrovertible. I had intercourse with Dr Gall, who has done me the honour of inscribing, with my name, one of his works on cerebral organization. On taking leave for the camp of his Majesty of Sweden, I observed, "My dear doctor, you will certainly find on his cranium the organ of vanity." In truth, had the learned doctor been permitted to feel all the crowned heads in Europe at that time, he would have got a great deal of very curious craniological information.

The King of Sweden was not only an enemy to be feared. Prussia made many flattering overtures to be admitted to the protectorship and occupation of the city. This to Hamburg will be the last misfortune. The political and fiscal system of Prussia is one, of all others, most to be dreaded by a commercial city. Besides, England would not have consented to a treaty which would have excluded her from the Elbe, and from one of the richest markets and most convenient points whence to extend her policy. At this time the recruiting in Hanover, no longer occupied by French troops, was carried on by England to a great extent. She scattered gold with both hands, and employed in this service an establishment of one hundred and fifty carriages, with six horses each. The recruiting was intended for the Hanoverian legion; but I do not doubt that the Anglo-Russians would attempt a diversion in Holland. Of these transactions I informed Napoleon, by an extraordinary courier, by means of intelligence in the use of which I had orders to proceed on no hesitation; and Heaven knows how many I received and expedited. Russia, in all her dispositions, manifested a hatred of France; and, from the movements of her corps in the north of Germany, of which I sent a despatch, with the intelligence to be collected, left no doubt in my

mind of an approaching rupture in these parts. In these circumstances,—the movements of the Russians in Wilna, Brod in Austrian Moldavia, in Prussian Poland, the exertions of their generals, the strength of their corps, where they laboured assiduously on their fortifications,—I sent information to the government, in a despatch addressed to M. de Talleyrand. Russia, the reader will recollect, was merely retired from Austerlitz; for, at this time, there existed neither convention nor pacification—no armistice. Of this she seemed inclined to take advantage; Napoleon watched, and to outplay him was not easy.

Notwithstanding the impending war, which I judged inevitable, attempts were made to bring about a general peace. I was not deceived; for, in the least things, I remarked a feeling of determined hostility to pervade all foreign nations against France. I often received, for instance, from the minister of marine, packets for the fleet of France, to the preservation of which settlement the Emperor attached much importance. I had great difficulty in prevailing upon the captains of privateers, who made occasional visits to that colony, to take charge of my commissions. The hopes of peace were founded on the demise of Mr Pitt, and especially on the entrance of Mr Fox to the ministry. It was well known that Mr Fox's premier was personally hostile to France, while between his government and the Emperor there had existed reciprocal esteem; and really Mr Fox did shew himself frankly disposed for peace. The possibility of this consummation he had always advocated when in opposition to Mr Pitt. Bonaparte, likewise, moved by the high regard he entertained for Mr Fox, might have been induced to some concessions he formerly repelled. But insurmountable obstacles may say presented themselves: the conviction, on the part of England, that such peace would only be a truce, of longer or shorter duration, from

Napoleon aspiring to universal dominion; and, condly, he meditated an attack upon England. he essayed this invasion, it would not have been more to strike rival the heart, and to destroy her commerce, so superior to that of France, blast the liberty of the press, which he rooted up in every other place. The spectacle a free people, separated by a strait of only six leagues, presented his mind seducing an example to France, and would eventually arouse the emulation of all those generous spirits who bend beneath no yoke.

During the first days of the administration of Fox, a Frenchman called upon him, offering to assassinate the Emperor. The English minister wrote immediately to de Talleyrand on the subject, and stated that the British laws did not authorize the detention of any foreigner for a length of time, who had committed some offence, but that, nevertheless, he should not release this miserable wretch till such period would allow the head of the French government to be informed of the proposal, and to take precautions against its effects. Mr Fox, in his letter, farther said, that he done the fellow the honour of taking him for a spy; an expression strongly significant of the English indignation. This information, nobly given, the key which opened a door to negotiations. The Emperor directed Talleyrand, in reply, to express Fox, how deeply he was touched by honourable procedure, and that he congratulated himself templating what might expected from a cabinet guided by those principles which such conduct evinced. Napoleon did not confine himself to this diplomatic courtesy: he thought the occasion favourable for creating a belief of his sincere love of peace. He from Paris Lord Yarmouth, one of the distinguished of those Englishmen who been so scandalously detained prisoners Verdun, from the rupture of treaty of Amiens. To this nobleman,

he consigned proposals to the English government to enter upon negotiations, voluntarily offering to recognize, in favour of England, the possession of the Cape of Good Hope, and of Malta. Some have thence attempted to elicit an occasion of praising the moderation of Bonaparte, while others have affected to discover too great concessions in these advances; as the Cape of Good Hope have entered into competition with the title of Emperor, the establishment of a kingdom in Italy, the acquisition of Genoa, and the Republic of Venice, the dethroning of the King of Naples, the gift of that realm to Joseph; in fine, the new form given to Germany,—all posterior to the peace of Amiens, of which changes Bonaparte said not one word, and from which he certainly would not have departed.

I distrusted all accounts of peace, therefore, and well knew Bonaparte to place any reliance on the sincerity of the Emperor, especially after the success of the campaign of Vienna; in fact, every day I saw his ambition extending. He already coveted possession of the Hanseatic Towns, the last asylums of the wrecks of liberty in Germany. This design he veiled under pretence of offering, or rather selling, their protection. In this negotiation, I know not why, I became agent; although, from my own knowledge of the state of men's minds, with little hope of success, I did my duty: that is to say, in many conferences with the municipalities, I endeavoured to persuade the towns of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, to accept the Emperor's protection, at a small sacrifice of six millions, which they were required to pay for this honour. They, too, were faithful to their duties, by acting in the way I would have done in their place; they declined the Emperor's generous proposal.

The Elbe renders Hamburg the natural emporium of Germany. That beautiful river, traversing the whole length of the city, receives into its bosom the

riches of the east and south. Here the agriculturist and manufacturer receive in exchange every product of the earth, without taste and refinement rendered, from being luxuries, necessities to the descendants of the ancient Germans, to every inhabitant of civilized Europe. At the same time, the most unsullied probity in commercial relations conciliated for the merchants of the Hanse Towns universal confidence. When the sacrifices, voluntary and forced, which small states were condemned to make before they were engulfed in the empire, are considered, we can hardly believe it possible for them to have possessed such a secret. In such states we discover the true secret of liberty.*

We have seen what brought the Emperor in haste to Paris in the end of January, 1806, where, on arriving, he learned that French troops occupied Prussia. Having no kings in Germany, he now deemed it expedient to surround his own throne with princely princes. At this epoch, he named Murat Grand Duke of Berg and Cleves; Bernadotte Prince of Ponte-Corvo; M. de Talleyrand Prince of Benevento; and his two ancient colleagues, Cambacérès and Lebrun, Dukes of Parma and Piacenza. He granted also to his sister Pauline, some time before married, in second nuptials, to the Prince Borghese, the investiture of the Duchy of Guastalla. Strange turn of events! who could then have foreseen, that the duchy of Cambacérès, the colleague of the Emperor's Consul, was to become the place of retreat to a princess of Austria, the widow of Napoleon, at his death?

In the midst of this prosperity of the imperial family, when the eldest of the brothers already

* At this time Hamburg reckoned a population of 90,000, with a territory containing 25,000; Bremen 95,000, and its territory 9000; Lübeck contained 24,000 within, and 16,000 without the walls. — Translator.

swayed the sceptre of Naples, while Louis, even Jerome had thoughts of exchanging his lawful wife for the throne of Westphalia, inquietudes hovered around imperial pillow. War did not actually exist with continental princes, since they mutually observed other, without coming to blows. This of momentary repose, however, had little resemblance to the tranquillity of peace. France was at war with and England: the situation of the continent presented only uncertainty: the Prussians arming in silence: the treaty of Vienna had been fulfilled only in part. Napoleon turned his eye towards the east; Sebastiani, in the beginning of May, despatched to Constantinople. The general's justified the choice of his master; he clever and conciliating: peace with the Turks resulted from his mission. The overtures England had not so successful a termination, although, the first conferences with Lord Yarmouth, Lord Lauderdale had been sent to Paris by Mr Fox, and M. de Champagny and Clarke, a man able to manage these things as he had been on the day before he knew them, been over to London. Nothing resulted from these negotiations.

The Emperor had drawn enormous sums from Austria, exclusive of the vases, statues, and pictures, with which he decorated the Louvre, and the bronze which the column in the Place Vendôme, in my opinion, the purest monument of his reign.*

* There is at present talk of transporting, with the permission of England, the remains of the founder from St Helena, and interring them under this column. It is constructed in imitation of the pillars of Trajan and Antonine, at Rome, covered externally with bas-reliefs, running in a spiral line from top to bottom, representing the history of the campaign of Austerlitz, and formed of the cannon taken from the Austrians. It is 160 feet high, and was surmounted by a statue of Napoleon.—*Translator.*

As Austria was thus exhausted, all the contributions exacted from her could not be paid in ready money, and payment was tendered in bills. Of these I received [redacted] negotiated one for [redacted] millions, (£296,000 nearly,) on Hamburg.

The affairs of the princes of the house of Bourbon became less favourable [redacted] their chances of [redacted] proportionably decreased, and their finances [redacted] low, that the pretender [redacted] under the necessity of declaring to the emigrants in Brunstich his inability to [redacted] their al[redacted]. This [redacted] a heavy stroke; for many had no other means of subsistence, and, whatever might [redacted] their sentiments of fidelity to the royal cause, few [redacted] any objections [redacted] the maintenance of their zeal by a salary. Of these the [redacted] remarkable [redacted] Dumouriez, who, wielding the weapons of [redacted] new warfare, scattered bad pamphlets every where. The vagabond life of this general, who kept running about begging arms of every one against his country, while no one listened, had begun to cover him with contempt. [redacted] [redacted] looked upon as stale. He resided at this time in Stralsund, under protection of the King of Sweden, who, [redacted] I had predicted, now bordered on the conclusion of the farce he had been playing for four months, [redacted] was thinking of returning [redacted] Sweden, with plentiful increase of ridicule, and [redacted] army decreased by a good third, through desertion.

To cut short the disputes with Holland, of which the above general was dreaming the conquest, [redacted] an imaginary army, the Emperor gave that kingdom to [redacted] brother Louis. Another cause [redacted] discontent, also, had been [redacted] unwillingness of the Dutch [redacted] shut their ports against England. But these [redacted] I defer till [redacted] period of speaking of [redacted] relations with Hortense, who detailed [redacted] me [redacted] her [redacted] her husband's troubles.

When I announced to the states of the circle of Lower Saxony the [redacted] of Louis [redacted] throne

of Holland, and other changes in the imperial house, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin alone failed to reply to my communication. I afterwards learned he had applied to the Emperor at St Petersburg, if, and in what terms, he should answer. At this very time the Duke and the emperor were on terms for the marriage of the daughter of the former, Charlotte Frederica, with Prince Christian Frederick of Denmark. At this epoch, it would have been difficult to predict the manner in which this union would terminate. The prince, young, handsome, and of an excellent disposition, promised to make a good husband; while the princess, beautiful as love, adored her husband, but, with a temper singularly giddy, was, in fact, a spoiled child. For several years their union was very happy; I had the honour of their acquaintance, when the duke afterwards sought refuge in Altona, with his excellent princess, whom, to the general regret, death ravished from her family two years after. The family consisted, besides, of the hereditary prince, distinguished by talent and information, and widower of the grand duchess of Russia, Alexander's sister; Prince Gustavus, amiable and graceful; and, finally, the Princess Charlotte, and her husband, the Prince Royal of Denmark. The then happy pair foresaw not that, in two years, they should be separated for ever. The princess was in all the splendour of her beauty, but, notwithstanding her amiableness of her character, could not make herself liked at the court of Denmark. Intrigues were formed against her: I know not if any thing wrong could be laid to her charge; but, in the language of *ton*, she was accused of great levity of conduct, and, soon or none, her husband conceived himself obliged to separate from her; and, in 1809, sent her, attended by a chamberlain and a lady of honour, to Altona. On arriving, she was in despair; and, here being no sorrow, she told her story to all the world. The poor princess, however, really excite pity

while shedding [redacted] over her infant son, doomed as she was never to behold her child again. [redacted] her natural levity returned; nor did she always [redacted] conduct becoming her situation; and, [redacted] lapse [redacted] she was [redacted] away into Jutland, where, I believe, [redacted] lives.

I return to [redacted] [redacted] in 1800. Pamphlets and libels were becoming more numerous than ever; the press and types purchased in Paris and sent to Brunswick for the manufacture of dis[redacted] against [redacted] Emperor, had, for greater security, [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] Petersburg, under the [redacted] of [redacted]. However, [redacted] got [redacted] of one annoyance, namely, "The Political Annals for the Nineteenth Century," edited by Count de Paoli-Chagny, who had received, [redacted] editor, a pension of £500 per annum from [redacted] Pitt, but which being withdrawn by Mr Fox, the count's satirical vein dried up with the ceasing of his salary. [redacted] the enemies of the French government did not confine themselves to invectives; more than [redacted] miscreant sharpened poniards against the life of the Emperor. Among these was Loizeau, who, coming from England, landed in Altona, for the purpose of enjoying the singular privilege, [redacted] by [redacted] city, of harbouring [redacted] the dregs of humanity, which had escaped from the justice of other governments. On the 17th July, Loizeau presented himself to Count [redacted] Gimel, agent there for the Count [redacted] Lille, proposing [redacted] [redacted] Paris and assassinate the Emperor. The proposal [redacted] repelled with indignation: but, [redacted] learning [redacted] fact, from the atrocious conduct of [redacted] intending assassin, I decided [redacted] arresting him. One of [redacted] agents had orders to keep himself constantly on the alert upon the walk leading from Hamburg to Altona, and when he found Loizeau within the territory of the former city, to fasten a quarrel on him, and [redacted] contrive to have both conveyed to the [redacted] guard-house. The snare took; [redacted] when [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] custody, [redacted] suddenly [redacted] [redacted]

cravat, and tore with his teeth the papers it contained. He attempted also to destroy others concealed below his arms, but was withheld by the soldiers, who, after much resistance, succeeded in pinioning him. On first entering the prison, he exclaimed, "I am a lost man!" One letter affirmed, that his proposal had been well received elsewhere. I saw the wretch in Paris, I know not his fate, but believe Fouché would take good care to prevent him doing farther harm. At the same time, one man was recommended to my especial care, as the author of a libel against the Emperor and his generals, and as having been concerned in the surrender of Toulon to the English. I sent for Martelly, found he had not written the pamphlet, which was the production of his brother, nor been at Toulon; but he possessed much intelligence, and had been long in London. I converted him back to London, and he ever served me with great and uncommon ability. By means of this agent, I discovered the treachery of M. Lajussé, formerly Secretary of Cherval, secretary of legation to the Lisbon embassy under Lannes. Lajussé was at this time employed in the foreign office, and kept up a correspondence with a quondam *chère ami*, calling herself Countess de Quentin, and then actually mistress of Demouriez. Through this channel, whatever passed in France became known in England. Meanwhile Martelly kept well with the emigrants, received their letters for London, which thus became known to me; and, while he was praised in the English papers as a devoted and useful loyalist, his communications put me in possession of the details of an expedition under Demouriez, planned against Hanover!

As the moment when war was to break out between Germany and France, in proportion as the hopes of peace diminished, Prussia became more and more agitated; the remembrance of the late war agitated her; peace had become odious.

eures, until then sufficiently moderate, all at once assumed a threatening tone, from the time when the English ministry had stated to Parliament that France had declared her willingness to restore Hanover. The French cabinet, on the other hand, assured Prussia that this restitution was the nearest step to peace, and held out large indemnities. But the Prussian monarch, well informed of all, and convinced that the house of Hanover attached great importance to the possession of an ancient domain, which gave it a preponderance in Germany, regarded himself as deceived, and resolved on war. At this period the whole of Prussia was animated by the same warlike sentiments. The public mind, and her youth especially, were exasperated. The king aspired to the character of liberator of Germany. Prussia, therefore, rejected every offer of compensation for Hanover; she knew that Napoleon would sacrifice her twenty times over to ensure peace with England. In these circumstances, Lord Lauderdale having been recalled from Paris by his government—notwithstanding the personal esteem of Pitt's successor for the Emperor—we continued at war with Britain, and were on the eve of having Prussia also on our hands.

The cabinet of Berlin sent an ultimatum, replete with expressions, in which little measure was observed, and amounting almost to a defiance. Napoleon's character is known, and, as may well be believed, this ultimatum roused his choler. Berthier, who had remained at Munich, pressed him to anticipate the Prussian preparations. After an interval of eight months, passed in the chances of peace and uncertain negotiation, the Emperor departed on the 25th of September for the Rhine. We have works so extensive as the campaign which ensued, called the Campaign of Saxony, that I may dispense with entering upon its details. I shall merely mention the private events, omitting all public transactions. Who does not remember with what giant strides the first

captain of modern times traversed Prussia, and p[er] his eagles in the capital of the Great Frederick !

M. Jacobi, Prussian envoy to London, remained at Hamburg with visible impatience. The crisis between France and our country approached, and he sought the support of union with England, and support from her subsidies. England was then like an open bank to all our enemies. On the 1st of October, a courier from the head-quarters at Nanzenburg arrived, with an order for M. Jacobi to embark for England immediately. The morrow he went on board a cutter express. He assured me, before parting, that the subsidies for Prussia were to be sixteen millions sterling. He had no great hope of the approaching contest with France. I spoke to him of Hanover; he informed me, that one of the conditions of compact between England and Prussia was the *restitution* and guarantee of that province to Britain.*

On the 10th October hostilities commenced between France and Prussia. I demanded of the Senate that the recruiting in the city for the Prussian army should cease. The news of a great victory gained by the Emperor over the Prussian army reached Hamburg on the 14th; but, though the disaster of our enemies was evident, from the crowds of fugitives of all ranks and ages from the north

* What are we to think of such a conference between two men holding at their relative position occupied by envoys of France and Austria? Also, the English reader cannot have failed to remark frequently, in these volumes, the absurdity of our subduing separately the German powers. In acting thus, the English cabinet actually furnished subsidies to Bonaparte, for he beat them (in more than one instance it is surmised feigned) allies in detail, and afterwards made them disgorge their English gold. If it was necessary to bribe the Germans to fight the battles of their own emancipation, at least it should have been upon the understanding that not a shilling was to be advanced till all, great and petty states, had united to strike one grand stroke. This policy alone, after eighteen years of blundering, finally succeeded.—Translator.

Germany, so contradictory, knew not whether rejoice or grieve, when, 28th, arrived official intelligence of the victory of Jena. On the day following, his year, loaded with infirmities, grievously wounded in the battle of Auerstadt, the Duke of Brunswick entered Altona. His arrival in that city presented a new striking proof of the instability of fortune. A sovereign prince, enjoying, right or wrong, a great reputation, but very lately powerful and tranquil in his own capital, beheld beaten and mortally wounded, borne in a foreign town, in a miserable litter, carried by men, without officers, without domestics, escorted by a crowd of boys and rabble, who pressed about him from curiosity, deposited in a bad inn, and with fatigue and pain in his eyes, that the after his arrival the report of his death was generally credited. During the few days the duke continued in life, he attended by his consort, who joined him the 1st November; he refused all visits, died the 10th. The of this prince created little sensation in Germany, where the war occupied all minds. The small number of emigrants whom he supported, displayed, indeed, sorrow. After the battle of Jena, the prince's faculties appear to have been much impaired. He possessed remarkable qualities. He had served Prussia 1792, from that period had never once abandoned the of that court. His violent proclamations which he published against France caused him to be regarded as one of the bitterest of our enemies.

At this time Bernadotte returned to Hamburg. I asked him how we were to his conduct with regard to Davoust, in refusing to assist him in his attack on the Prussian army at Naumburg? "I am informed, by letter, you took no part in the of Auerstadt. I did not believe; you have read the account which I myself received, some-

what later, in which it is stated, that Bonaparte said at Naumburg, before a great many officers, 'Were I to deliver him up a prisoner of war, he would be shot. I will not speak to him on the subject, neither will I conceal what I think of him. He has too much honour not to perceive that he has committed a disgraceful action.'—"I believe him very capable," replied Bernadotte, "of holding such language. I know he knows I love him not; but let him talk to me, and I will answer him. I am a Gascon, but I am still a greater one. I might have been piqued at receiving almost orders from Davoust; but I did my duty."

It is said that the Emperor, on arriving on the field of battle of Roebach, going from Menneburg to Halle, pointed out the spot where the column erected by Frederick the Great should be found, and the direction to be taken in order to reach it. This I can readily believe; so perfect was his knowledge of ground, and of the relative position of armies on a day of battle. He caused the column to be removed; a contrast, it must be confessed, with the sentiments which I had always heard him express. He hoped, at least, that the monuments of his victories would be respected.

Towards the commencement of November, the Swedes entered Lubeck; but on the 8th, the town was taken by assault, and these Swedes, the remainder of the corps which had been at Jena, were made prisoners. A detachment of Prussians appeared at Hamburg, and already the citizens had stood to their defence, when Major Ameil attacked, routed, and took many of the Prussians at Zollenspieker. The danger, however, was far from removed. The major announced his intention to enter with his prisoners. Ameil could not be depended upon; he was a leader of a band of partizans, in the whole force of the phrase, and made rather an account, than as contributing to

of the operations of the army. His troop did exceed fifty men; but these were sufficient to pillage and carry diamay into the neighbouring villages. Besides, his boldness was unquestionable, and when he threw himself upon Hamburg, with a handful of marauders, he made the good people believe in a rear-guard of twenty thousand men. He had plundered along the whole route, nearly a hundred prisoners, and a great number of horses. It was at nightfall when he presented himself at the gate, leaving his followers with his booty at the nearest village. Entering alone, he made for the residence of the French legation. I was very quickly informed for where I was gone on a visit, about nine o'clock in the evening, and, on entering, met the major—the perfect *beau-idéal* of a brigand. It gave me, therefore, no surprise to learn, that his tone, air, and gigantic moustaches, had struck terror into the inmates of my saloon. He then began to entertain me with the recital of his late exploits, talked of making a raid to-morrow with his troop upon Hamburg, and rioted in the idea of pillage, and of ransacking the bank. I endeavoured long, in vain, to dissuade him, for the thought of such plunder had intoxicated his imagination; but, assuming on this a higher tone, I said, “Know you, sir, that such is not the fashion in which the Emperor desires to be served. During the space of seven years which I passed with him in his campaigns, I constantly observed the expressions of his indignation against those who aggravate to the peaceful inhabitants the miseries of war. The will of the Emperor is, that no damage be done to Hamburg or its territory.” This brief address produced instantaneously an effect above all my entreaties; for the sole name of the Emperor made the stoutest tremble. The major then had recourse to a plan of selling his booty; this affair concerned the Senate, who had the good nature to consider, and the weakness to grant, his petition for a sale of the produce of his robberies,

on the morrow, in one of the villages. They even bought his horses, and gave him guards for his prisoners. The service I rendered, in ridding them of this freebooter, was appreciated by the authorities, who next day presented to me a vote of thanks, expressed in a letter full of courtesy.

The military occupation of the Towns could not be long continued. In his march upon Berlin, the grand army had passed the Rhine, Napoleon detached a corps, under Mortier, the purpose of securing the Electorate of Hesse, and occupying Hamburg. On the 19th of November, the city was taken possession of in the Emperor's name. The greatest order and tranquillity reigned on that occasion, though I make no secret of having feared the same. On the approach of the army, the utmost consternation prevailed; and, on the pressing entreaties of the magistrates, I did not hesitate to assume other powers than those of diplomatist, and, going out to meet Mortier, endeavoured to prevail upon him to respect the neutrality of the port. All my remonstrances were vain: he had a formal command from the Emperor. It was a fearful night which I left Hamburg for this purpose, and a young boy, named Selim, about thirteen years old, a most affectionate creature, supposing that he was exposed to danger, resolved to accompany me on my voyage, though then suffering from the effects of a defluxion in his breast. Overhearing the dispute among my people, I gave orders to the boy to remain behind; but he got secretly upon the carriage, and returned almost frozen to death. His lungs were attacked, and notwithstanding every care, and in sending him to Paris, I knew the misfortune that awaited him. My attachment to me cost him his life.

No preparations having been made for his reception, Mortier, with the staff, established headquarters in my house, and a few troops he brought formed an encampment in the court. Thus

residence of minister of peace appearance of a warlike leaguer, until such time other arrangements effected. The demands which the marshal was necessitated to make, in sequence of this occupation, hard. But my representations suspended for a season order given by Napoleon to seize the otherwise than render a tribute the uprightness of marshal's conduct, who forwarded my representations. Napoleon Berlin, announcing that he delayed acting till the arrival of orders. The Emperor read and approved my views,—a circumstance fortunate for France—perhaps unprofitable Europe—and most beneficial to Hamburg. Those who recommended to the Emperor the pillage of this noble establishment, have been profoundly ignorant of its utility; they thought only of one thing, the ninety millions of marks, stored up in the vaults of the bank.*

The successive commandants at Hamburg were Mortier, more rigorous than could be avoided; General Michaud, who, least, inflicted no evil he could prevent; and Bruno, who has been misrepresented: his moderation displeased, and he recalled. These succeeded by Bernadotte, when, by the of Jena, Napoleon, of Prussia and the north of Germany, longer kept with the states composing this portion Europe, but gave way to the most incredible exactions without opposition—for weakness could offer Subsidies, stores of every description, quarterings unceasingly renewed, contributions for table allowances,—such a few of these demands. During

* At par, the mark is equal to 1s. 6d. sterling, consequently the sum in the coffers was L. 5,700,000 sterling. What, in this case, made the difference between Bonaparte and Amiel? The Emperor was persuaded from a robbery by his own servant; the freebooter yielded only to a superior.—*Translator.*

a long period the general-commandant had 1200 francs (£50) per day. The Dutch, under General Gratien, as also the inhabitants of Lubeck and of Bremen, respectively enjoyed their share of similar *advantages*. The Prince of Ponte-Corvo softened and moderated, as far as possible, these vexatious burdens. This noble character preserved Hamburg from the extortions to which he might have subjected that unfortunate city. Never did he refuse to aid any measure which might tend to a system of ruin and persecution. Under his government the people reposed for a space; and, happily, his governorship continued longer than of his predecessors. Every where he exerted himself to modify the excessive rigour of the custom-house regulations; his name was cherished by the inhabitants; it is, I am sure, repeated without benedictions; and the opinion thus conciliated proved far from injurious, when, four years after, public favour hailed him Crown Prince of Sweden.

CHAPTER VIII.

RECAPITULATION OF THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN—
 BLUCHER'S SERVICES—MURAT—OF NAPOLÉON'S
 PRINCESS HATFIELD—NAPOLEON'S LET-
 TER TO JOSEPHINE—BLUCHER'S DEPARTURE
 HAMBURG—ANECDOTES OF HIS MIND AND CHA-
 RACTER—HIS CONFIDENCE IN THE
 SENATORIAL DEPUTATION TO THE
 EMPEROR AT BERLIN—ATTEMPTS AT PEACE—EX-
 TORTIONS—BERLIN AND THE
 CONTINENTAL SYSTEM—TRUE NATURE OF THAT
 SYSTEM.

EVERY one has heard of the celebrated General Perron, who played an important part among the Mahrattas, and at the court of Prince Scindia. I had been rather more than a year in my ministry when he arrived. As he had matters about passports I had some amusing conversations with him on his really extraordinary adventures. He told me he had at one time been possessed of more than fifty millions (£2,085,000;) but for the privilege of embarking at an Indian port, he had been obliged to disburse the English a considerable sum, three-fourths of his riches had been consumed. Many of his trunks were filled with splendid Cachemires, of some of which he had the honour to make a present. General Perron had lost a hand. His two children, a boy and girl, born of an Indian mother, whose copper colour was their maternal origin. The

■■■■ singular ■■■ attract public attention wherever they appeared. Their necks ■■■ were encircled with massive rings of pure gold; but these collars and bracelets could not be undone like those ■■■ in Europe; they were soldered, and so neatly, that the joining could scarcely be distinguished. These children knew not one word of French; ■■■ appeared very ■■■ of, and ■■■ constantly caressing them. Some days after the general's arrival, M. Bourguien landed also from Bengal, and applied likewise for ■■■ passport ■■■ France. He was ■■■ open war with Perron, who, on ■■■ part, spoke to me in similar ■■■ of his compatriot. They mutually professed a profound contempt, each bitterly reproaching the other with the ruin of the Mahrattas. Both, however, had contrived to realize immense fortunes. I know not what became of M. Bourguien; as to ■■■ Perron, he is ■■■ living on his magnificent ■■■ Vendôme; and one of his daughters, by ■■■ second marriage, I have since known as the wife of ■■■ de la Rochefoucauld, sub-prefect of Sens.

I have already stated my intention of giving only ■■■ few particulars of the great Prussian campaign. From the month of September, 1806, there appeared an absolute certainty, that, if we went to war with Prussia, Russia would join against ■■■ Peace, however, had been signed between the courts of ■■■ Petersburg and ■■■ Clond, in virtue of ■■■ treaty concluded ■■■ Paris, by ■■■ d'Oubril. ■■■ was to ■■■ ■■■ of the Catara, which she was ■■■ ■■■ haste ■■■ do; and Alexander had published an ukase, calling out ■■■ levy of four ■■■ from every five hundred inhabitants, ■■■ order to guard against the evils which again threatened Europe, and ■■■ provide for ■■■ security of his own dominions. All this meant ■■■ ■■■ determined not only to complete, ■■■ ■■■ augment his army.

Before the commencement of hostilities, Duroc ■■■ ■■■ to Berlin, on a mission to the King of

Prussia, in order to feel [] way, [] attempt [] means of renewing negotiations. All these attempts were fruitless; and perhaps it no longer depended upon [] King of Prussia to make or [] make war [] France. The enthusiasm of his subjects for [] preservation of their independence bore [] resemblance to the [] impetuosity, which, at [] commencement of the revolution in France, absolutely brought forth armies. The war having begun, victory every where declared for the Emperor. The Prince Hohenlohe, who commanded a Prussian corps, [] forced to lay down his arms [] Prentzlan. After this capitulation, General Blücher assumed the [] of the wrecks of the army, and collected those detachments, whose distance had saved them from the surrender [] Prentzlan. These corps, and Blücher's own troops [] Auerstadt, amounting [] twenty or twenty-five thousand men, formed the sole remaining defence of the Prussian monarchy. Soult [] Bernadotte received orders from Murat to pursue, without pause, the partizan Blücher, who used all his efforts to draw from [] capital the troops of these two generals. Blücher marched [] Lubeck, of which he gained possession, as we shall [] Murat [] in pursuit of the remains of the Prussian army, which had escaped from Saxony by Magdeburg. It was of vast importance to the [] of Berlin, that a corps [] numerous, and commanded by a general so able and brave, should be annihilated. Blücher, thus removing from the centre of operations with [] considerable [] force, might throw himself into Hanover or Hesse, [] even into Holland, and, uniting with the English troops, produce serious [] in the rear of the grand army. During this pursuit, the Grand Duke of Berg announced to [] his designs, [] his hopes, and speedily his success, by the [] following letters:—

“ [] MINISTER, — I hasten to intimate to you

my arrival here with the divisions of Marshals Soult and Bernadotte, and a detachment of cavalry of the ■■■■■. To-morrow I shall be at Lubeck, where I ■■■■■ giving the mortal ■■■■■ to General Blucher, if he tempt the fate of a battle. I am informed he has a design to take shipping. ■■■■■ think he will not have time; and, should it be so, I hope that God, the protector of his majesty's ■■■■■ will render ■■■■■ wind adverse. ■■■■■ any Prussians appear before Hamburg, give the magistrates strong injunctions to shut their gates against them. ■■■■■ belongs to us to call upon you in ■■■■■ city. The Ex-general ■■■■■ passed ■■■■■ and the 28th at Hamburg, whence he departed for Russia. Fauche-Borel is now in Hamburg; endeavour to discover and arrest him. I beg you will send to ■■■■■ Lubeck all information possible about the designs of General Blucher. I ■■■■■ you the defeat of Prince Hohenlobe. On the 26th, I made ■■■■■ whole division prisoner ■■■■■ Prentslan. The hussars took Stettin ■■■■■ eleven o'clock at night; while General Michaud, whom I had directed upon Passewalek, there forced a corps of four thousand men to lay down their arms, and at Audano, General Becker obliged a detachment of equal strength to capitulate. Custrin opened its gates two days ago. In short, there remain of the Prussian ■■■■■ only from twenty to twenty-five thousand men, which certainly shall ■■■■■ escape ■■■■■ Receive assurance, &c.

JOACHIM."

"Ratzbourg, 5th November,
half past eight evening."

"Circumstances will, I hope, my dear Bourrienne, give ■■■■■ pleasure of seeing you.—J."

"■■■■ MINISTER.—I have ■■■■■ moment, ■■■■■ getting into the saddle, received your letter addressed to the Emperor, and thank you for the ■■■■■ myself. The division under ■■■■■ command of ■■■■■ Prince ■■■■■ Brunswick and ■■■■■

Blucher, twenty-five thousand strong, waited of his majesty's troops Lubeck. carried city by assault; six thousand prisoners, generals, fifty pieces of cannon, standards and colours, are the brilliant results of the . The remainder of the corps has fled disorder; and if, as is said, and appears, the Danes determined on causing their neutrality to be respected, it is to presumed General Blucher will be forced, to-day or to-morrow, to lay down his arms. Thus finishes reputation of that army, which, under Frederick, had wrought such prodigies. received your letter of the 8th, at one in the morning. I have not your reply mine of the 5th. You say was sent by express. I hope you have unquestionably received both the letters which I despatched to you yesterday. The first announced the assault and taking of Lubeck, and the second, the capture of whole of Blucher's corps. Thus disappeared last remnant of the Prussian army. I am now to reply to your queries; but what do I say? — Blucher's defeat has sufficiently answered all your questions, and ought entirely to dissipate the apprehensions of the senate of Hamburg. True it is, a detachment from my division was sent your way in order to observe Blucher's motions on that point, but commander had express orders not to enter the territory of Hamburg, was he authorised levy contributions. I have given orders repay the sums received, and for the detachment to rejoin the army. We are upon the of the W phalian plate, which ought still to in Lubeck. I thank you for your information that subject. The city of Lubeck severely, but I venture hopes that and unfortunate inhabitants will render justice to the efforts I have made, to protect them against the evils inevitable in the case of a city taken by assault. I lament over the disorders which took place, and

all [] was humanly possible, in order to put a stop [] them. I repeat the assurance of my consideration.

" [] November.

JOACHIM."

" P.S. At length, my dear Bourrienne, the [] ceases for want of combatants. I could [] wished to see you, but know engagements retain you [] your post. Accept the assurance of my friendship.—J." *

In one of his letters, as will be observed, Murat, probably deceived by his agents, or by some intriguer, gives me notice of Moreau having arrived in Hamburg, [] passing through Paris on the 28th October. The only foundation for such [] was an intercepted letter of Fauché-Berel. I recollect a curious circumstance explanatory of this intelligence, which proves how much informers [] be mis-trusted. About fifteen days before my receiving Murat's letter, [] called upon [] to say, that Moreau was in town; I gave no credit to the assertion, but at the same time made all inquiries. Two days after, I [] assured that an individual who had served under, and who knew [] well, had both seen and spoken to the general. I sent for this person immediately. "Well, you have seen General Moreau?"—"Yes; he asked me the way to Jungfersteige, [a splendid [] Hamburg;] I gave [] necessary directions, and added, 'Have I not the honour [] General Moreau?'—"Yes, but [] nothing about it—I am here incognito." All this appeared to me absurd; and, feigning not to know the general, I asked [] informant [] describe him. [] gave [] a description which bore no resemblance to [] original, saying, "[] wore a braided coat, of French cut, with the national cockade." I instantly detected [] impostor. But a quarter of an hour afterwards entered one of my friends, [] present

* It may seem to know, that these letters, in the originals, are chiefly in the form of no less than seven P.S.'s.

the French Consul at Stettin—the man in the identical braided coat, and who had mounted the national cockade. A slight resemblance in figure to Moreau had completed the deception; and so the whole mystery originated.

During the Prussian campaign, nothing was so common throughout the whole of Germany as the generous conduct of Napoleon in regard to Prince Hatzfeld. I received very curious information of this incident, and have been fortunate in preserving a letter from the Emperor to Josephine, which the reader will find presently. Meanwhile, it is necessary to premise, that, agreeably to the inquisitorial system too generally characterising Napoleon's government, the first thing, on entering any town, was to seize the post-office; and, God knows, little delicacy could be expected for the secrets of correspondence. Upon entering Berlin, our functionaries did not fail to follow upon the established plan. Among the letters remitted to Napoleon, (for insignificant communications were forwarded, and destroyed, as happened,) was found one from Prince Hatzfeld, who had imprudently remained in the capital. This letter was addressed to the King of Prussia. The Prince gave to his sovereign an account of all the events which had occurred in his capital since he himself had been obliged to leave it; and, at the same time, describing the force and condition of the various corps which composed the French army. After having read this letter, the Emperor issued an order to arrest the Prince, and to convoke a military commission, before which he was to be tried as a spy. The commission was already assembled, and there could be no doubt of the nature of the sentence that would be pronounced, when the Emperor flew to seek Duroc, who, in such circumstances, was always happy to make an approach to the Emperor. On the day in question, Napoleon was in review without the city. Duroc knew the Prince's family, having frequently seen him at the princess's during the previous

to Berlin. He remained behind at the palace, watching the Emperor's return. Napoleon, on entering, was astonished to find Duroc within at that hour, and asked if any thing new had occurred. The answer was negative; Napoleon in the way of his private cabinet. Here Duroc, without saying much himself, quickly related the Hatsfeld. The sequel was related by Napoleon himself in the letter just mentioned. It is easy to perceive that the note is a reply to one from Josephine, complaining of the way in which he spoke of women, and most probably of the Emperor and unfortunate Queen of Prussia, respecting whom he had expressed himself with unguarded disrespect in one of his bulletins.

The following is Napoleon's answer of expressing himself to Josephine:—

"I received thy letter; you seem angry with me speaking ill of women. It is true, I utterly abominate intriguing females. I am accustomed to those who are amiable, gentle, and conciliating; such I love. They have spoiled me, it is my fault, but thine. But at least thou wilt see I have been very good to one, who shewed herself a feeling and amiable woman,—Madame Hatsfeld. When I shewed her the letter which her husband had written, she replied to me, weeping bitterly, with simplicity and ingenuousness, 'It is but too surely his writing.' Her accent went to my soul—her situation grieved me. I said, 'Well, then, madam, throw that letter into the fire, I shall then no longer possess the means of condemning your husband.' She burned my letter, and I am happy. My husband is restored to tranquillity. Six hours later, and he would have been a lost man. Thou seest, then, how I esteem women that are gentle, ingenuous, and amiable, but this is because they alone resemble thee."

"6th November, 1806,
nine o'clock evening"

Emperor Berlin, employed
 the famous decree on the Continental System, the
 effects of which we consider by and by, I had
 hoped see Bernadotte at Hamburg; but, receiving
 join the grand army, he sent me the follow-
 ing note:—"I regret much, my dear minister, that
 circumstances, and a slight indisposition, deprive of
 the pleasure of embracing you. I out to-morrow
 join the grand army, is in march against
 Russians. My troops are already some days in
 advance. Adieu, my dear B.; me your friend-
 ship, and assured that circumstance of my
 shall weaken the regard entertain for you. I
 brace, and you, that on my arrival Berlin, I
 shall endeavor accomplish what you desire.
 "J. BERNADOTTE."

"20th November, 1806."

When Marshal Bernadotte had forced Blücher from
 Lubeck, and taken prisoner a general who has since
 become so celebrated, though then known only a
 partisan chief, he had the goodness to inform me in
 the following terms:—"I send you details of
 the brilliant affair which took place the 6th, be-
 tween corps d'armée and General Blücher's
 division. May I request you will get them inserted
 in the Hamburg journal? Your friend intends coming
 to Hamburg with the sole intention of seeing and
 embracing you." Some days after, I received another
 billet, as follows:—"I have written two letters within
 the last month; I know if you have received
 them. I send two words of friendship,—expecting
 to you, to say that I much yours.
 —J. B." But, when the marshal announced the
 capture of Lubeck, and that of Blücher, I far
 from supposing that his prisoner, since become
 differently celebrated, would be confided to my charge;
 but so it After surrender, Blücher obtained
 permission take up abode in Hamburg, with

the whole city for his prison. My injunctions, as may be supposed, were to keep a very strict watch over him, and, on the slightest attempt to escape, on his part, to employ force,—a measure ever most repugnant to my feelings. During a considerable space, in which Blucher remained my prisoner, far from adding to the rigour of captivity, I spared him all the annoyances of police which my general instructions might have warranted. Blucher appeared to me a fit subject for curious study, and I was very frequently. I found him an enthusiastic Prussian patriot, a brave man, enterprising, and to realness; with only very limited information, and incredibly devoted to pleasure, of which, to my certain knowledge, he was not sparing, while in Hamburg. It was his delight to sit for hours at table, and, notwithstanding his exclusive patriotism, he rendered ample and very frequent justice to the wines of France. His amorous propensities were, so to speak, inordinant. He knew of no more agreeable amusement than to remain for hours round a green rag, giving or taking gold, according to the good or bad run of play.

Blucher's disposition was exceedingly gay; and, considered as a boon companion, his society had something to it very agreeable: the originality of his conversation pleased me much. He entertained so firm a belief in the emancipation of Germany, that the disasters, even of the Prussian army, in no degree shook his confidence. He frequently spoke to me, in such terms as the following:—"I have much reliance on the place in the public spirit of Germany, and on the enthusiasm which reigns in our universities. The successes of war are but for a day; while even the defeats of an army arouse in nations the principles of honour and of national glory. Be assured, that, when an entire people has a decided wish to emancipate itself from a depressing yoke, it will always break its fetters. Do not doubt it—we shall have in time a home-bred army, such as we subdued spirit

of France could ever yet predom. England will always afford us assistance in her subsidies, and of her marine; we will renew our alliances with Austria.*

"Sir," Blücher would often add, "I dare pledge myself as guarantee for a circumstance of which I am certain, and you may believe me,—not one of the allied powers entertains, in the present war, any design of aggrandizement. All that they want, with common consent, is to put a stop to the system of conquest, which your Emperor has adopted, and which he pursues with a fearful rapidity. In our first wars against France, at the commencement of your Revolution, we contended for questions concerning the rights of sovereigns;—for such, on my part, I assure you, I know extremely little; but now, the case is no longer the same; the population of Prussia, to a man, makes common cause with its government; we now wage war in defence of our homes, and we may destroy armies, without changing the spirit of the nation. I look undismayed to the future, because I foresee that fortune will not always favour your Emperor. It is impossible to think otherwise: there will arrive a season, when the whole of Europe, humiliated by his demands, wearied out by his depredations, will rise up against him. The more he enchains the nations, the more terrible will be the explosion of the people bursting their fetters. Who dare deny the insatiable desire of devouring provinces, with which he is tormented? To the war of 1805, against Austria and Russia, succeeded, incontinently, the present dispute. We have fallen; Prussia is subdued: but there remains Russia in the field. It is not granted me to say what the war may extend; still,

* In reporting the substance of very frequent conversations with Blücher, I cannot forbear remarking the singularity of his patriotism, which numbered among its means of triumph the subsidies of one, and the alliance of two other foreign nations.—*Author.*

admitting even [] [] [] be favourable [] you, [] will have an end, but only to behold [] [] [] : if [] are true to ourselves, France will fall exhausted by her very conquests : [] not the fact. You desire peace ? advise it ; you will thus give a gen[] proof of love for your country."

I, of course, replied [] these incessant remarks [] Blücher with that [] which became my station ; but, [] I ever made a point to drop the diplomatist in the drawing-room, [] entered, with frankness, into his [] [] desirableness of peace,—a peace in reality, not a compact dictated by the stronger, [] imposed upon the weaker. If, indeed, my advice had been of any weight—and [] [] not conceal my sentiments from the Prussian general—the Emperor had, [] that, ceased from wars of invasion—wars of horror, in which, spite of [] discipline, the people are trodden to the dust, [] which board up hate, the effects of which become terrible, on the first change of fortune. Before Blücher's arrival, there had come among us Prince Paul [] Wurtemberg, second son of [] of the two kings, whose crowns, dating from the treaty of Presburg, were not a year old. This royal youth, imbued with the ideas of liberty, which then fermented in Germany, had committed a harebrained action [] leaving Stuttgart, to [] [] the Prussian campaign. He had taken this step without the authority of his father, whom he thus incurred the risk of seriously compromising with Napoleon. The King of Prussia made him a general, but he [] taken prisoner in [] very commencement [] hostilities, [] conducted by a captain of gendarmes, not to Stuttgart, [] to Hamburg, where he visited [] frequently. His ideas were not very stable, [] his mind made [] [] to what he wanted, for, after having been made a prisoner in the service [] Prussia, he became eagerly desirous of serving in the armies of France, and several times requested me [] solicit for him an audience of the Emperor. It was granted, and he lived long

in Paris, where I have seen him also since the Restoration.

My prisoners, and others, whom I had to watch at Hamburg, gave me, however, less trouble, than my neighbours in Altona. Recent events had greatly increased their number; the emigrants, chased by our victories, fled from country to country at the first alarm. They sought refuge in Altona; not only emigrants, but, after the battle of Jena, every fugitive in the duchies of Weimar, Gotha, Brunswick, and Hanover, deserted, or fled with French soldiers, and my rightful inmates become refugees in Altona. To me I rendered service, or forbore the vexatious interference I might have exercised.

Napoleon protracted his residence so long in Berlin, to give his senate time to present, by a deputation of their body, their felicitations in the capital of Prussia. I was informed, by a worthy officer of credence, that, upon this occasion, the senatorial representatives, having taken unto themselves all of their own, wished to abdicate for a moment their ordinary passiveness of disposition, and even dared not to limit themselves to compliments and congratulations; nay, they even emancipated themselves to such an extent, (according to what I was given me,) as to wish to have a finger in the plans of the Emperor's campaign, spoke of the danger of passing the Oder, and even expressed a desire of peace! Their request was received very ungraciously as an unwelcome communication; found the senate very bold, indeed, to meddle with his affairs; treated the conscript fathers of France as foolhardy men, devoid of reflection, protesting, as usual, their sincere love of peace; and told the deputation, that it was Prussia, supported by Russia, not he, who desired war. How could the Emperor — let me be pardoned the expression — have the effrontery to tell the deputation, that Prussia desired war? She had wished it, indeed; but to the enthusiasm of hope had now succeeded a general

stuper, or signs of activity displayed only in flight. The stricken deer speeds not with greater rapidity from the hunters, than fled all the German princes, who had taken part against Napoleon.

Clarke—the inevitable Clarke—was appointed governor of Berlin; and, under his administration, the wretched inhabitants who could not flee, were overwhelmed under every species of oppression and impost. As in the execution of every measure there operated the most servile compliance with the orders of Napoleon, so the name of Clarke is in detestation throughout Prussia.

In the midst of so many infamies, which are the indispensable consequences of war, the generals stationed in Holland, a country at peace, the kingdom of the Emperor's brother, rendered themselves conspicuous by their ardour and rapacity, which recalled the delightful times of the dilapidation. It certainly was not their King who set them this example: king, in spite of himself, Louis, in the known moderation of his character, and his principles of integrity, was destined to exhibit an instance of whatever an honest man may suffer upon a borrowed throne. Moreover, he took little part in the operations of the Prussian campaign. Napoleon, indeed, had expressed his desire that he should assume the command of the division of the grand army, formed of the Dutch, to invest Hameln. He did so; but, falling sick a few days after, could only summon the place to surrender, and then retired. This bounded his military exploits. Subsequently, the town opened its gates to Savary; and it may give some idea of the conditions imposed upon the vanquished, that the Prussian commandant, in other clauses, stipulated for the officers being permitted to retain their stockings and shoes! I believe a month and a half pay was granted, and then them to return home.

When the King of Prussia beheld the fate of his troops at every point, and his kingdom delivered

into Napoleon's power, in even less time than Austria had been during the preceding year, the Emperor, requesting a suspension of hostilities. Napoleon was present on the reception of this letter. "It is too late," said Napoleon; "but it matters not: I wish to stay the effusion of blood: I am ready myself to every thing which will touch honour, or the safety of the nation." The Emperor for DuROC, gave him orders instantly to visit the wounded, and to see that they wanted for nothing. "See, in my name, each in particular," said he: "Give to all the relief of which they are in need. You will then join the King of Prussia, wherever you may find him; if he make any propositions, send me word."

It was, in truth, high time, after so much success on the one hand, and such exhaustion on the other: the conquerors had need of repose to enjoy their triumphs, and the vanquished to cicatrize their wounds. Mutual necessities induced Napoleon to seem desirous of peace. Negotiations began, but with such conditions on the part of France, that they were deemed inadmissible, while Prussia could yet hang her hopes upon the arms of Russia: besides, the Emperor's demands extended to England, who certainly had no motive, at this season, for acceding to the pretensions of her enemy. The Emperor desired that England should resign to France all the colonies taken from her during the course of the war, and that Russia should cede to the Porte Wallachia and Moldavia, which she occupied: in short, she acted upon the principle so expressed in some tragedy, where a king directs his ambassador "Invict—demand all—that you may obtain nothing." The stipulations were, in fact, so extravagant, it never had entered the mind of any reasonable man that Napoleon conceived even a hope of their being accepted. These negotiations, resumed alternately, had been conducted with cold-

ness by **the** parties, up to the moment when Britain had induced **Prussia** to side with Prussia against France. They then ceased altogether; and, to assume **the** air of renewing them upon a basis still more favourable **to** France, Napoleon sent Duroc **to** wait upon **the** King of Prussia. The **French** found **the** prince **at** Osterode, on the other side of the Vistula. The Prussian monarch gave for reply, "It is **no** longer time." **Like** **the** Napoleon **had** before said, "**It** **is** **late**." **The** **former** could **do** **nothing** otherwise. Prussia could **not** be in a **more** **disadvantageous** condition—she had nothing more to lose; **the** **Russians**, **full** of enthusiasm and hope, **and** **the** **King** William's **own** subjects before Jena, burned **in** wash out, in the blood of a victorious field, the disgrace of Austerlitz.

While Duroc fulfilled his mission to the King of Prussia, I also received orders to attempt **a** negotiation **at** Hamburg. Bonaparte had a mind to detach Sweden from the coalition, **and** **finish** the war with her by **a** separate treaty. She could be very useful to him when Prussia, Russia, and England, formed in the north a considerable mass of forces. We had already Denmark for us, and if to her Sweden could be united, the junction of these two powers might **be** **a** diversion, sufficiently respectable, to give serious uneasiness **to** the coalition, obliged, as it **was** **to** be, to concentrate its principal strength to oppose the shock of the grand army **at** Poland. The sentiments of M. Peyron, Swedish minister **at** Hamburg, **were** strongly adverse to the **idea** carried on by **the** **French** against France, which he justly regarded **as** the only power capable **of** protecting Finland against **the** dangerous vicinage of Russia. I therefore regretted his removal **at** this very time, before **he** could **have** made overtures. His successor, **M.** Netzel, entertained, however, the **same** opinion as to the useless and expensive war in which their **country** **was** engaged. A few days after his arrival,

minister applied to me about the exchange of Swedish prisoners captured at the Trave. I anxiously laboured to accomplish the required arrangements, and succeeded. During our conferences on this subject, I had gradually learned the state of his feelings on the subject of my own instructions, and he last frankly proposed the question of peace. I was assured that M. de Wotterstedt, Swedish secretary of state, also favoured pacific views, and M. de Netsel undertook to write on the subject in our conversation. Thus, our negotiation more happily commenced; but who could have foretold what wind would turn the wits of Gustavus? That headstrong prince took very much amiss the whole transaction. M. de Wotterstedt himself received orders to expostulate, in very strong terms, with the envoy at Hamburg, for having entered the house of a French minister, and for having dared to speak upon him to such a functionary in political matters, though ours was only a conversation. But the king would not rest content with reproaches: poor M. de Netsel came to inform me, with tears in his eyes, that he had been recalled, by an order from the king, without waiting for his audience. He considered his disgrace as complete.

The famous Continental System demands my attention; and I cannot but to any other, perhaps, than its knaveries and its consequences exposed to me, from my situation in the principal commercial city of the Continent. This system arose during the war of 1806, and was promulgated by a decree, dated at Berlin, on the 21st of November. This edict was the result of bad counsels. Seeing the just indignation of the Emperor against the duplicity of England, against her repugnance to come to serious negotiations with him, and, in short, against the hostilities which she unceasingly stirred up on the Continent, his short-sighted advisers urged him to launch this decree, which I can regard in no other light than as

an act of madness, and of European tyranny. ■■■■ decrees, ■■■■ fleets, that he wanted : ■■■■ fleets, without ■■■■ naval ■■■■ it ■■■■ ridiculous ■■■■ declare the ■■■■ shales in a ■■■■ of blockade, ■■■■ English squadrons did actually ■■■■ effectually blockade every port in France. This, however, was what Napoleon ■■■■ by the ■■■■ decrees; ■■■■ such was what ■■■■ termed the Continental System! — System of speculation, ■■■■ injustice, and of plunder!*

It ■■■■ difficult, ■■■■ day, ■■■■ conceive how Europe could, for a single hour, endure ■■■■ ■■■■ tyranny, ■■■■ exacted the most exorbitant price ■■■■ articles, ■■■■ indispensable necessaries of life, both to rich ■■■■ poor, through the habits of three centuries. ■■■■ is so far from being the truth, that this system had, for its only and exclusive aim, to prevent England from disposing of her merchandise, the ■■■■ licences were sold, at a high rate, to those who had influence sufficient to procure them; ■■■■ gold alone gave ■■■■ ■■■■. The quantity and ■■■■ quality of ■■■■ exported from France, were exaggerated with incredible impudence. It became imperative, indeed, to purchase such articles, in submission to the will of Napoleon; but they ■■■■ bought only to be thrown into the ■■■■. And yet none was found who had the ■■■■ science to tell the Emperor that England sold to the Continent, but that she bought almost nothing from thence!

The traffic in licences was carried to a scandalous extent, ■■■■ ■■■■ only to enrich certain flatterers, and to gratify the wrongheadedness of the contrivers. This system proves, what is engraven in the annals of the ■■■■ ■■■■ understanding of ■■■■, ■■■■ the cupidity ■■■■ flattery ■■■■ insatiable, ■■■■ the errors of obstinate folly inorganic. Let ■■■■ cite one example ■■■■ of thousands. At Hamburg, while under the government of Davoust, a poor father of a family narrowly escaped

* See Appendix, B.

dined for having introduced, into the department of the Elbe, a small loaf of sugar, for the necessities of his family; while, at the very moment, perhaps, Napoleon was placing his signature to a licence for the introduction of a million of loaves. Smuggling, on a small scale, was punished with death, because government had undertaken the trade in the gross. The same cause filled the coffers of the French treasury with gold, and the prisons of the empire with

The legislation of the customhouse—that legislation of death, which was in open war against rhubarb, which the coasts of the continent against the importation of senna—could prevent the Continental System from falling to pieces. The emperor attended the installation of the odious coast-guard courts. At Hamburg, the president of their court, a Frenchman, delivered an harangue, setting forth, that, from the time of Ptolemæus, there existed extraordinary customhouse tribunals, and that Egypt owed its prosperity to these institutions! Thus the agents of government introduced its terror with their own folly. Compared with these courts, the common officers, in sufficient detestation, were regretted.

The counsellors of Bonaparte in this system were him of folly and stupidity, requiring that each ship, for which a licence had been obtained, carry out home manufactures equal in value to the colonial productions authorized by licence to be imported. What was the consequence? The refuse of the warehouses—whatever time and fashion rendered completely unsaleable, purchased at almost nothing; and as the articles were purchased in England, they were thrown overboard, without any profit to the speculation by this slight means. The profit of the licence infinitely surpassed the value of a nominal cargo, the tossing of which into the sea only furnished the amusement of laughter. It was published,

I believe, by order of Napoleon, [redacted] of Fontainebleau, planted [redacted] red beet, would supply all Europe with sugar! I [redacted] comprehend how [redacted] came to allow such an absurdity to appear in the *Moniteur*. I [redacted] not, however, pretend [redacted] say, [redacted] culture should not be encouraged.

This odious [redacted] brutal system, worthy of the [redacted] of ignorance and barbarity, which, when it [redacted] [redacted] admissible in theory, [redacted] proved impracticable in application, [redacted] not been sufficiently stigmatised. Men have had [redacted] folly to maintain, that the continental blockade must, in [redacted] end, have overwhelmed England under the weight of her [redacted] products! [redacted] absurdity! Those who invented, [redacted] those who set the system to work, incurred alike the derision and hatred of their contemporaries; posterity will not for a moment entertain their dreams. The mutual [redacted] of society, without exception, struggled with advantage against measures [redacted] fatal. The prohibition of commerce, the severity so unceasingly [redacted] unsparingly cruel in [redacted] execution of this hateful conception, were, in truth, but [redacted] impost on the continent. Let the reader take only one proof of many which I might produce from my own experience. The line of customhouses along the frontier, from Hamburg, between Germany and Holland, was very strong. [redacted] quantities of English merchandise [redacted] colonial productions had accumulated in Holstein, where they had arrived almost [redacted] by way of Kiel and Hudsum, and all passed [redacted] line [redacted] an advance of [redacted] thirty-three to forty per cent. Convinced [redacted] this by a thousand facts, [redacted] wearied [redacted] with the [redacted] of the customhouse system, I took upon myself to explain my views to the Emperor directly, [redacted] the reader will recollect, I [redacted] authority from [redacted] to do. I despatched accordingly an extraordinary courier [redacted] Fontainebleau, where [redacted] then residing. [redacted] this document I declared [redacted] him that [redacted] passed in spite of his customhouses; the profit [redacted]

the sale in Germany, Poland, Italy, and France, being too great not to induce men to run all hazards. I proposed, that when he was about to unite the Hanseatic Towns to the empire, he should allow a free trade in colonial products, at a duty of thirty-three per cent, equivalent nearly to the premium of

The Emperor adopted, without hesitation, my proposal, and, in 1811, in Hamburg alone, the sum from this speculation amounted to above sixty millions, (£2,500,000). Yet the toad-eaters of the court kept crying out with enthusiasm, "We are ruining England by shutting against her the door of colonial produce." The Continental system was afterwards partly adopted in Prussia, with regard to articles seized, and that also produced considerable revenue. The Continental System was not the less extolled and pursued.

That accursed system embroiled us with Sweden and with Russia, who would not submit to a blockade, while Napoleon himself lavished his licences, and grumbled when they took the advantage. Bernadotte, on his way to Sweden, passed through Hamburg in October, 1810. He remained with me three days, which we passed together in the greatest intimacy. He would see no one. Among other things, he consulted me how he should act with regard to the Continental system. I hesitated to declare, not as minister of France, but as a friend, that, in his place, as the head of a poor nation, which cannot live without exchanging its commodities with England, I would open my ports, and give freely and generally to the Swedes that licence which Bonaparte gave in detail to antiquity and cupidity.

The irrational decree of Berlin acted most powerfully against the Emperor, by exciting the population of entire countries against him. Twenty kings hurled from their thrones would have drawn upon him less of deadly enmity than this disregard of the people's

profound ignorance of the political economy occasioned general misery and privation: these, in their turn, stirred up an inevitable and wide-spreading insurrection.

The system, too, could succeed only in the impossible case that all the powers of Europe entered fully into combinations. A single free port sufficient to annihilate the whole. To its complete success, the conquest and constant occupation of all countries were requisite. As a means of ruining England, it was foolishness, and impossible in execution: as an import, it was practicable, but execrable and oppressive to be tolerated. Some one has termed it, "the materialism of supremacy." This expression designates the system completely. To lodge the destructive array of retainers, it became necessary to convert several prisons into customhouses. The gaols that remained were so encumbered with offenders against the revenue laws, that one half of the prisoners were forced to lie down while the other half lay down to rest!

A captain reporter coincided in a judgment favourable to a poor peasant, taken with a loaf of sugar which had been purchased beyond the barrier of the customhouse. This officer was at dinner with Davoust: in the middle of the repast, the marshal addressed him,—“So, sir captain, you suffer from a conscience.”—“Nay, but, my lord”—“Be gone to head-quarters; there is an order for you.” This order sent the captain eighty leagues from Hamburg. But it would require the reader to have been a spectator, as I was, of the vexations and miseries caused by the deplorable Continental System, to conceive what mischief its authors inflicted upon Europe, or what hate and vengeance it kindled against Napoleon's day of retribution.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GREAT BATTLE OF THE
TWO TROOPS — ENTRANCE INTO RUSSIA —
THE WAR IN POLAND — NAPOLEON'S MARCH — HIS
MANNER OF DICTATING, AND RESULTS OF HIS
MARCHES ON THE RUSSIAN FRONTIER —
— BATTLE OF EYLAU — AFFAIRS IN THE NORTH —
— TILSIT — KING AND QUEEN OF
PRUSSIA — GALLANTRY OF NAPOLEON —
— MR CANNING — TREATY OF
— AFFAIRS OF
PORTUGAL — ABOLITION OF THE
CODE NAPOLEON.

Not only was Bonaparte the greatest captain of modern times, but he may be said to have changed the art of war itself. He converted it into a fearful game, no longer subject to the vicissitudes of the seasons. The greatest masters of the science had regulated their operations by the ordinary divisions of the calendar; and formerly, throughout Europe, the practice had been to brave cannon and musket only on the fine days of spring and the fine weather of autumn; then on both sides to put on their armour amid the frost, snow, and rain, of the intervening months, and to wearied soldiers in what they called winter quarters. Pichegru, in Holland, had set the first example of disregarding temperature; Bonaparte, also, at Austerlitz, had fought the ice of winter. The plan had succeeded: he resolved on trying it again. His military genius, and incredible activity, seemed to

his power; and, proud of his soldiers, he determined on conducting a winter campaign under a sky more inclement than yet canopied his fields. He only required men such as he had chained to his destiny, who would brave the rigours of the north as they had braved the meridian of Egypt. Above all, generals in choosing his battle ground, he would tamely await the Russian army; it was to meet him on the plains of conquered Prussia; he resolved to march to the encounter, and rush upon his enemies as they could find him on the Vistula. But, before quitting Berlin, to explore, as conqueror, the regions of the north, the confines of Russia, he told his soldiers:—

“ You have justified my hopes, and fully replied to the confidence of the French people. You have endured privations and fatigue with fortitude equal to your intrepidity and steadiness in the conflict. You are worthy to be the defenders of my country, of the glory of the great nation. While animated by this spirit, nothing shall be able to resist you. Behold the results of your toils,—one of the first powers in Europe, which, in its delirium, had lately dared to propose to us a shameful capitulation, is annihilated! The forests and defiles of Franconia—the Saale—the Elbe, which our sires would have traversed in many years, we have crossed in seven days, we fought in the while four engagements and one great battle. We have been preceded in Potsdam and Berlin by the fame of our victories; we have taken sixty thousand prisoners, captured sixty-five colours,—among which are those of the guards of the King of Prussia,—six hundred pieces of artillery, three fortresses, and above twenty generals; yet more than one half of you regret not having fired a single shot. All the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, as far as the Oder, are in our power. Soldiers! we will march to encounter them—we will conquer them.

half the journey. They shall find another Austerlitz in the midst of Prussia. A nation which has so speedily forgotten our generosity towards her, after that wherein her Emperor—her court—the wreck of her army, owed safety wholly to the capitulation we had accorded, is a nation that shall successfully contend with us.

"In the mean time, while we are marching against the Russians, new armies, organized in the interior of the empire, approach to occupy our place, and guard our conquests. My people have as one man, indignant at the shameful compact which the Prussian cabinet, in its delirium, proposed to us. Our highways, and our frontier cities are filled with conscripts, who ardently long to follow our steps. We will no longer be the sport of a treacherous peace; we will not again lay aside our arms, till we have forced the English, those eternal enemies of our nation, to renounce their design of troubling the Continent, and their tyranny of the world. Soldiers! I better express the sentiments I entertain for you, than by saying, that I wear nearest my heart the attachment which you daily manifest towards me."

The word delirium, applied in this proclamation to the ultimatum of Frederick William, was really too strong. When Napoleon, on the point of commencing the campaign, was to have about peace, Prussia returned for answer, that the Emperor was ordered to evacuate all his conquests. The Prussian monarch, blinded by the enthusiasm of his troops, and away by the ardour of Blücher, Duke of Brunswick, threatened us with his resentment, if French forces should cross the Rhine. I know Napoleon, with his singular manifesto in his hand, could not finish the perusal, but, tearing it in rage, and throwing the fragments to the earth, exclaimed, "Does he deem himself already in Champagne? How! would he come to Paris,—and in seven-league boots? Truly, I am sorry for Prussia. I pity

He knows not what [] they have made him write? it [] much too ridiculous. They [] a challenge; a fair queen wishes to [] spectator of [] combat—Bravo! Let us [] []!— []—the place of meeting is in Saxony—Forward! [] devil's name, let [] not keep them waiting!"

If activity had been requisite [] the [] the campaign, every thing [] urged [] to [] Russians; for, if he [] they [] passed [] Vistula, there probably would be no winter campaign, [] circumstances would have constrained him to take up miserable quarters between that river and the Oder, or even to have repassed the latter to receive his enemies in Prussia. His military genius, and indomitable activity, served him well here; and the preceding proclamation, dated from Berlin, before [] departure from Charlottenburg, proves that he acted not fortuitously, as often happened, but that his calculations had been previously fixed. But, splendid [] combinations of military talent [] on the immediate scene of glory, how different is the effect upon the sufferers at a distance! Thus, for instance, [] the commencement of the Russian campaign, the Emperor demanded from the city of Hamburg fifty thousand greatcoats; these I caused to be furnished immediately, knowing the importance [] such defence to our soldiers, in a climate, to them, of untried rigour. On [] side, [] Mortier [] ordered [] seize all the timber fit for ship-building, amounting in value [] £ 60,000. Again, [] Lubeck, my directions were, to take possession [] four hundred [] of grain, and forward them [] Magdeburg. The grain [] timber, indeed, nominally belonged [] Russia. In short, the [] Towns were drained like [] many [] cows, at the [] when [] Continental System [] beginning [] dry up the sources [] their prosperity. Such were the evils of conquest, wrought for the greater glory of [] empire, or rather of the Emperor,—evils aggravated by agents

██████████ imbecility or cupidity by overacted zeal. Of these, ██████████ secondary chiefs of the army gave ██████████ great trouble, and against their ██████████ I never failed strenuously, and often successfully, to oppose my civil authority. These ██████████ evils, however, which, ██████████ years later, caused the people, at ██████████ disarmed, ██████████ man, to put a term to their present sufferings, and to avenge ██████████ past misfortunes.

Meanwhile, our troops always pushing on, marched with such rapidity, that Murat, leader of the vanguard, ██████████ whose passion for war surpassed the ardour of all his comrades, arrived in Warsaw before the end of November. The head-quarters of the Emperor ██████████ then established at Posen, ██████████ from all parts arrived deputations, praying the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland, ██████████ the restoration of her independence. After having received the deputation from Warsaw, ██████████ I subsequently learned from himself, ██████████ to Rapp, "I love ██████████ Poles—their ardour pleases ██████████ I would willingly constitute them a free people; but to do so is very difficult. Too many ██████████ got a finger in the pie—Austria, Russia, Prussia, have each had a slice. The train ██████████ fired, who knows where the conflagration might stop. My first duty is to France, and I must not sacrifice her to Poland; that would carry us too far. And then, we must defer to the arbiter of all things,—time; time will shew ██████████ long what ██████████ should do." ██████████ Sulkowski lived, Napoleon would have remembered ██████████ own words in Egypt, and ██████████ probably would have restored a power, whose dismemberment, towards the close of last century, began to break down the ██████████ of political equilibrium which the Peace of Westphalia ██████████ established in Europe.

At the head-quarters in Posen, Duroc rejoined the Emperor, after the last mission to Prussia. I learned with pain, that, on the journey, he had been thrown ██████████ his horse, and broken his collar bone. Every

I received was a series of complaints of the roads, the army fought, were, with mud; nor, without the artillery be brought forward. I have since been told, that the carriage of Talleyrand, when Napoleon summoned to headquarters, in hopes of concluding a treaty of peace, became so imbedded, that the minister stuck fast for nearly twelve hours. The soldiers were in bad humour being in mud, the knees, asked who it was that stopped the way? They were told, "The minister for foreign —" "Ah, bah!" replied gruffly of the company, "what the devil have they with diplomacy in this dog-hole of a country!"

The Emperor made his entrance into Warsaw the 1st of January, 1807. The majority of reports previously received, spoke in unison of the discontent of the troops, then suffering from weather, bad roads, and privations of kinds. Bonaparte, upon this, inquired of the generals, who informed him of the discouragement which had succeeded to enthusiasm in the spirit of the army,—"Have you spoken to the troops of the enemy? Does their quail on beholding their foes?"—"No, sire."—"I thought so; my soldiers are even the same." Afterwards, he to Rapp, "*I will now stir them!*" dictated the following proclamation:—

"Soldiers! On this day twelvemonth, at this very hour, you upon the battle-field of Austerlitz. The terror-struck of were flying in disorder, or, surrounded, yielded up their arms to their conquerors. On morrow, they proffered terms of peace; but their words were fallacious. Hardly escaped, through a generosity perhaps blameable, from of the third, they contrived a fourth coalition. But the ally, upon whose co-operation they their principal hope, already

no more: his fortresses, capitals, magazines, arsenals,
 hundred and eighty standards, seven hundred
 field-pieces, five fortified cities, are in our possession.
 Whether the Oder, the Wartha, the Neisse of Poland,
 nor the tempestuous season,—nothing could
 stop you for a moment; you have braved all,
 surmounted all; every foe has fled on your approach.
 In vain have the Prussians endeavoured to defend the
 capital of ancient and renowned Poland; the eagle
 of France soars over the Vistula. The brave
 unfortunate Pole, seeing you, deems he beholds
 the legions of Sobieski returning from their memor-
 able expedition. Soldiers! we will carry by our
 arms until a general peace hath secured the
 power of our allies, and restored to our
 commerce its freedom and its colonies. Upon the
 Rhine and the Oder, we have regained Pondicherry,
 our establishments in India, the Cape of Good Hope,
 and the Spanish colonies. What shall give the
 Russians a right to disturb the balance of destiny?
 What should give to them the right of interposing in
 these our just designs? They and we are still the
 soldiers of Ansterlitz."

When Bonaparte dictated his proclamations, (how
 many have I written under the circumstances I
 ascribed!) he exhibited, for the moment, the air of one
 inspired. His imagination carried the fancy of
 the improvisatori of Italy; he was, as I speak, upon
 the tripod, and it became necessary to write with
 incredible rapidity in order to keep pace with him, for
 his dictation was then an outpouring. He was at
 times serious, and caused to be read over to him what
 he had dictated. On such reviews, I have seen him,
 more than once, with a laugh, applaud the effect to
 be produced by such or such a phrase. Generally
 speaking, his proclamations turned upon three points,
 —boasting to the soldiers of what they had per-
 formed; shewing in perspective what remained to be

accomplished; and blackening his enemies. The last proclamation, [redacted] mentioned, was dispersed in profusion all [redacted] Germany; and it is impossible, without having [redacted] it, [redacted] conceive the wonderful impression [redacted] produced upon the whole army. The divisions stationed in the rear burned to traverse, by [redacted] marches, [redacted] space which [redacted] separated them [redacted] head-quarters; [redacted] those [redacted] the Emperor forgot their fatigues, their [redacted] their privations, and desired to be led on to the combat. At the same time, they comprehended very [redacted] of [redacted] Napoleon had said to them: I do not believe, for instance, they understood how they [redacted] reconquered Pondicherry or the Cape of Good Hope, on the [redacted] the Oder; but they repeated to each other, [redacted] usual, "The Emperor has said so." They recalled the [redacted] in which they [redacted] been present—marched [redacted] gally, though without shoes—passed the long hours without victuals, and without complaint. Such [redacted] the prodigious enthusiasm, or rather fanaticism, with which Napoleon could inspire his soldiers when he felt the necessity of "*stirring*" them.

My [redacted] occupations meanwhile in Hamburg were, [redacted] usual, of [redacted] mixed description,—some agreeable enough, others the reverse. Among my [redacted] pleasing avocations, [redacted] the intercourse of good [redacted] which my situation enabled me to maintain with several of the German princes, whom the fate of war had deprived of their states, and forced to seek refuge in this precarious independence still enjoyed by this part of the Continent. [redacted] the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and his family, especially the Princess Charlotte and her royal spouse, the prince royal of Denmark, [redacted] have already spoken. The former, through his minister at Hamburg, requested my permission to visit occasionally that city from his retreat in Altona. He came so frequently—for there existed [redacted] secret source of attraction—that I was [redacted] some friendly remonstrances,

lest [redacted] should be compromised. But, [redacted] we were on the [redacted] footing with Denmark, I continued to see generally his son-in-law [redacted] beautiful daughter. The latter, indeed, [redacted] being separated [redacted] her husband, [redacted] visit Madame de Bourrienne. Almost every day I had [redacted] pleasure of receiving the Duke of Weimar, a [redacted] of cultivated understanding and [redacted] heart. I [redacted] [redacted] happiness of living [redacted] the [redacted] in such intimacy, [redacted] my house might be called [redacted] home; and, finally, [redacted] the satisfaction of contributing, in my degree, to the restoration of his [redacted]. It is, of a truth, no impulse of vanity which thus induces [redacted] to recall my relations with these illustrious personages: I have beheld too closely how human greatness is elevated and [redacted] down, to be now seduced by its illusions. There is, however, pleasure in proving by what means of moderation, even while the instrument of executing the stern behests of [redacted] iron rule, I retained the confidence of many princes of the Outer Rhine. For this purpose I may just cite, out of many in my possession, the following letter from Prince Charles, Grand Elector of Baden, dated December, 1806:—"I have the honour of addressing you in this letter, and [redacted] inform you, that I have recommended to my sister [redacted] repair to Hamburg, in order to be [redacted] her husband, the Prince of Brunswick-Oels. I entreat, [redacted] le Ministre, that you will be pleased to interest yourself in her behalf during her residence in Hamburg,—a favour for which I shall [redacted] feel [redacted] grateful, and which will tranquillize my apprehensions [redacted] my sister [redacted] her present unprotected situation. I embrace this opportunity to assure you of the [redacted] distinguished consideration with which I have [redacted] honour [redacted] be, &c."

Such [redacted] [redacted] of my agreeable relaxations—Now for a contrast. Truly the [redacted] [redacted] great between those who [redacted] pleased to look in upon my drawing-room, and the people whom duty constrained

me to admit into my closet. Custom, it is said, [redacted] to all things: not so; the saying, at least with me, has its exceptions. Notwithstanding [redacted] habitual necessity of employing spies, I never yet could see one of these miscreants, without a feeling of disgust, amounting even to horror, especially when the individual had been born in a rank from which his own inherent love of baseness [redacted] of lucre had degraded him. It is impossible to conjecture by what combinations such men are capable of [redacted] their design [redacted] betraying those whose confidence they have gained. An apposite example just recurs to my mind. One day a self-degraded man of this stamp came to offer me his services. He was named Butler, and had been commissioned from England as a spy upon the French government. Speedily disclosing his business, he palliated his conduct, by complaining of pretended enemies, of injuries sustained, and, finally, expressed an [redacted] desire to [redacted] himself to the cause of the Emperor, for whose service he professed his readiness to [redacted] every sacrifice. The [redacted] of changing here, [redacted] in every other [redacted] [redacted] the hope of being better paid. I believed, however, [redacted] agent of this description [redacted] carried [redacted] a greater [redacted] his precautions to conceal double play from his original employers. To me he kept constantly repeating a desire of avenging himself upon his enemies in London; requested to be sent to Paris, in order to be examined by the minister of police himself; and, for greater security, [redacted] himself [redacted] up in the Temple on arriving, [redacted] got the following paragraph inserted into the English journals:—“John Butler, commonly [redacted] Count Butler, [redacted] just been arrested, and [redacted] [redacted] Paris under a strong guard, by the French Minister at Hamburg.” [redacted] lapse of [redacted] weeks, Butler, upon receiving [redacted] instructions from our minister, set [redacted] for London; but, as a part of his own system of precautions, [redacted] because, according to his own advice, [redacted] could not

be vilified to be useful, he requested to have the following article published in French journals :—" The individual, named Butler, arrested at Hamburg, and conducted to Paris as an English agent, is ordered to quit France, and territories occupied by the French or their allied army, and prohibited from appearing in any of the dominions of France, or of her allies, before a general peace." In England, Butler thus assumed all the honours of French persecution. Was he a victim who merited the entire confidence of the enemies of France. Fouché, meanwhile, obtained, through his much more information; and yet Butler was not hanged! Who, in fact, would not have been deceived by such bold-faced villainy? Verily, these are crimes of which one would almost require to be capable, before it were possible to suspect their existence!

Notwithstanding the supposed necessity for maintaining secret agents, Bonaparte discouraged, under this pretext, too numerous communications between France and England. Fouché, however, went on as usual, ordering the dark evolutions of his subterranean forces. This latter had given great cause of offence to the Emperor, in reference to an affair of which I have already spoken,—the deputation of the Senate. " Fouché," said Napoleon, " ought, as a Senator, to have dissuaded his colleagues from such a step; and, if persuasion had been unavailing, he ought to have employed the means at his disposal as minister of police, to hinder the deputies from passing the frontier." In truth, Fouché's were ample; for, during the absence of the Emperor, his police might almost have been termed the regency of France. Always ready to favour whatever might increase the importance of his branch, and flatter the suspicions of the Emperor, Fouché, of government having certain intelligence, many French subjects found their way to Manchester,

as ~~agents~~ agents, for the purchase of English manufactures. This ~~was~~ quite true : but how apply a remedy ? These agents of French, and even Parisian houses, embarked in the ports of Holland, whence ~~a~~ run to England could be accomplished in ~~many~~ many hours. ~~This~~ this was a cause of double alarm : ~~only~~ only the commercial, ~~a~~ rather non-commercial law ~~was~~ thus violated, but it ~~was~~ argued, If French agents ~~could~~ so easily reach England, will not English agents, with equal facility, enter the continent ? This mysterious ~~cyllogram~~ cyllogram furnished ~~the~~ work ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ministers, *chargés d'affaires*, ~~the~~ consuls. Not only ~~the~~ ~~they~~ required ~~to~~ keep ~~an~~ eye upon all those ~~who~~ evidently *did*, but upon ~~the~~ those also who ~~might~~ ~~come~~ from England. Admirable this in the conception ; but the execution ? — In vain were vexatious informations, inquisitorial perquisitions, spies, ~~employed~~ employed. English manufactures continued ~~to~~ inundate ~~the~~ continent. The ~~will~~ of ~~the~~ ~~the~~ obvious : the ~~will~~ of mankind will always have more weight than the will of any sovereign, however powerful.

Return we ~~now~~ to Napoleon and his victorious army, who, as I have already stated, entered ~~Prussia~~ ~~the~~ the first day of the year 1807. During his sojourn ~~at~~ Posen, the imperial head-quarters, the Emperor, ~~was~~ careful ~~to~~ realize ~~the~~ fruit of his victories, founded, under the title of ~~a~~ treaty concluded with the elector, ~~the~~ kingdom of Saxony, and, ~~consequently~~ consequently, by the annexation of this kingdom ~~to~~ the confederation of ~~the~~ Rhine, extended his power in Germany. In ~~the~~ of this treaty, Saxony, justly ~~rewarded~~ for her cavalry, furnished ~~the~~ the grand army ~~a~~ contingent of twenty thousand ~~men~~. ~~This~~ aid was valuable, not only on account of the men, but especially ~~the~~ ~~the~~ which Saxony could furnish, and furnish abundantly, to the French troops. ~~This~~ was a spectacle quite novel for princes of Germany, accustomed ~~as~~ they were to the practices

feudal etiquette, to see an upstart sovereign treat
 as subjects, and, by his boldness, oblige them to
 look upon themselves as such. Those famous Saxons
 who had made Charlemagne tremble, threw themselves
 into the arms of the Emperor; and certainly it was
 no indifferent matter to see the chief of the
 house of Saxony attach himself to his fortune; the
 king, by age, his tastes, his character,
 the most venerated prince of all Germany. From
 of arriving at Warsaw, the Emperor
 continued to receive new solicitations in favour of
 re-establishing the throne of Poland, and restoring
 chivalric independence the ancient empire of
 Jagellona. On this subject he remained in great
 perplexity, but finally adhered to his first determina-
 tion, which, indeed, was his usual practice, — to submit
 to events, in order to seem more fully to command
 them. At Warsaw, he passed the greater part of his
 time in pleasure, festivities, reviews, and audiences,
 all which did not prevent him from watching
 part of the public service, exterior or interior,
 should be deficient. remained in the
 capital of Poland; but his vast intelligence was
 present throughout. I learned from General Duroc,
 when he had occasion to be of the campaign at
 Tilsit, that he had Napoleon shown himself
 fully or completely. He delighted to offer
 to the view and enthusiasm of his soldiers, to receive
 princes who timidly to beg for restitution of
 their estates; afterwards, to shew himself in brilliant
 audiences; and, anon, to plan gigantic designs upon
 the East. The war between the Turks and
 Russians allured him on by hopes, rather chimeras,
 favourable to his ambition. Meanwhile, his universal
 capacity, descending to grave details, provided for
 all: thus, from the enormous quantity of despatches
 received, as well by extraordinary couriers, as
 in any way, I must regard as a masterpiece
 of administration the manner in which the Emperor,

at Warsaw, established the mode of provisioning [redacted] [redacted] wanted [redacted] nothing.

[redacted] very [redacted] [redacted] in the imperial [redacted] is, that, with the exception of [redacted] interior police, of which Fouché was the [redacted] spirit, [redacted] government of [redacted] existed [redacted] head-quarters. At Warsaw, Napoleon not only turned his [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] army, but there governed France, as [redacted] [redacted] in its capital. Daily expresses, and, from time to time, the useless auditors from this [redacted] of state, brought, with more [redacted] less exactness, despatches from [redacted] [redacted] of government [redacted] [redacted] Paris, [redacted] [redacted] curious revelations, frequently invented by the police. [redacted] portfolios of the ministers arrived weekly, with the exception of those of [redacted] minister for foreign affairs, who, after remaining some time [redacted] Mayence with the Empress, [redacted] been [redacted] [redacted] Warsaw, and of the minister of war, Clarke, who, for [redacted] [redacted] of [redacted] city, governed [redacted] Berlin. [redacted] order of things continued for the [redacted] months of the Emperor's absence from Paris. Louis XIV. remarked, "I am the state." Napoleon [redacted] not say [redacted] [redacted] thing in words, but, in fact, the government of France was always at his head-quarters; an inconvenient arrangement, and which had nearly proved fatal to him, as we shall see by and by, when I speak [redacted] [redacted] affair, which I alone, perhaps, know thoroughly, [redacted] [redacted] conspiracy of Mallet.

The month of January the Emperor employed in military dispositions for the approaching attack [redacted] [redacted] Russians, but, [redacted] [redacted] same time, did not neglect [redacted] [redacted] of the cabinet: all marched in the [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] Whatever information reached me from Warsaw concerning [redacted] [redacted] incredible foresight, intelligence, and activity, could not surprise me: I had [redacted] the same—and, however hazardous his position then [redacted] [redacted] is circumstances still [redacted] difficult. At Warsaw, indeed, [redacted] Emperor [redacted] not merely [redacted] [redacted] battle: [redacted] [redacted] much more complicated

than the campaign of Vienna. It was necessary, on the one hand, to Prussia, which was allied; and, on the other, to anticipate the Russians, whose movements and dispositions announced a determination to assume the initiative in hostilities. In the preceding campaign, Austria, before the fall of her capital, found herself alone engaged: she was no longer the Austria that Austria had had only soldiers; and Prussia, as we have observed, began to have citizens. No difficulty existed in returning from Vienna; but, in the event of failure, much was to be apprehended in a retreat from Warsaw, notwithstanding the creation of the kingdom of Saxony, and the provisional government of Prussia, and of other German states now had conquered. None of all these considerations escaped the eagle eye of Napoleon; and so complete was the understanding throughout the whole of his administration, that it frequently happened to myself to receive the same information from head-quarters which I previously transmitted in such a way that the couriers had passed each other. Thus, for example, I sent intelligence of the arming of Austria, and received a despatch, of the same effect, from the seat of government, only a few days later. Austria, in fact, since the Prussian campaign, had been playing the same part as Prussia acted during the Austrian warfare,—indecision, on the one hand, and indecision repeated on the other. As Prussia, prior to Austerlitz, had waited for the or defeat of the French armies, before resolving on remaining neuter or declaring against France, so Austria, supposing, doubtless, that Prussia would be fortunate if united to Prussia, than when her ally, assembled in Bohemia a corps of forty thousand men. This body she termed an army in observation; and every one knows that such observation implies. The truth is, these forty thousand armed Austrians were allied with Russia, in case of war; and who could blame Austria for

cherishing hopes of legitimate vengeance, by which she might wash away the disgrace of the treaty of Presburg?

In this state of things, the Emperor had not a [] to lose: it was necessary to anticipate Russia, [] maintain Austria undecided, in [] manner as he had hastened the success of Austerlitz, and kept [] in doubt.

Napoleon, therefore, set out from Warsaw towards the end of January, having issued the necessary orders for attacking the Russian army early in February. But, despite his eagerness to engage, the Emperor was anticipated. The Russian army attacked him on [] of February, [] o'clock in [] morning, in the midst of dreadful weather. Notwithstanding the snow, which fell in great quantity, the Russians continued always to advance. They approached Eylau, in Prussia, [] the Emperor [] and the imperial guard first arrested the farther progress of the Russian column. Nearly [] whole of the French army was engaged in this battle, [] of [] most sanguinary which, until then, [] been fought in Europe. The corps under the [] command of Bernadotte was not present, because he had been stationed on the left, at Mohrungen, whence [] menaced Dantzic. The issue of the contest would have [] very different [] the four divisions of infantry, and two of cavalry, composing Bernadotte's section of [] army arrived in time; but, unfortunately, the [] despatched with the order [] him to move in all speed upon Preussisch-Eylau, [] intercepted by a cloud of Cossacks, so that Bernadotte necessarily remained stationary. Bonaparte, who always desired [] throw the blame [] one, when things did not fall out as he wished, [] the doubtful success of the day to the non-arrival of Bernadotte's division. This was true; but, [] the [] time, [] make [] a subject of reproach [] the marshal, shewed [] greatest injustice. []

accused ■ having ■■■■ to ■■■■ upon Preussisch-Eylau, although, as asserted, General Haupolt had advertised him of the necessity of his presence. But how dispute this fact, since, on the same day on which ■ order is ■■■■ to have been delivered, ■■■■ Haupolt was slain? ■■■■ could give the assurance ■■■■ general directly and personally ■■■■ ■■■■ communicated with Bernadotte? Whoever ■■■■ closely studied Bonaparte, his craft, and the ■■■■ frequently given by him to words placed in the mouth of the dead, will ■■■■ no enigma here. Let the reader recall Brueys ■■■■ Aboukir.

But, be ■■■■ as ■ may, the day of Eylau was terrible, ■■■■ French gained night as they ■■■■ could, always, but in vain, looking for the advancing columns of Bernadotte; and, after considerable loss, the army enjoyed the mournful honour of encamping ■■■■ the ■■■■ of battle. Bernadotte came up, but ■■■■ late, having fallen ■■■■ with, and engaged the enemy, in full and unmolested retreat towards Königsburg, the ■■■■ capital yet remaining ■■■■ Prussia. The king himself ■■■■ ■■■■ Memel, thirty leagues distant.

When, subsequently, at Hamburg, I mentioned ■■■■ Bernadotte ■■■■ ■■■■ concerning his conduct ■■■■ Eylau, he said, "You see him—always calumnious assertions on the part of that man, but it is quite the same to me,—I care not a fig for him." He afterwards explained ■■■■ whole ■■■■ a ■■■■ favourable ■■■■ himself, and indulged in ■■■■ reflections against ■■■■ tain generals, which, in my opinion, ■■■■ improper. As the ■■■■ ■■■■ living, I say nothing more, ■■■■ fear of inducing a quarrel with their former comrade, now the king of Sweden.

After the conquest of the field of battle, covered with the dead of both armies, the French remained in position, as ■■■■ also their adversary; and several days passed in unimportant events. The Emperor's offers of peace, made, indeed, with ■■■■ anxiety, ■■■■ rejected with proud disdain. It seemed as if a victory,

disputed ■■■ Napoleon, ■■■ to be regarded as a triumph; ■■■ one would have said, that the battle of Eylau had turned the heads of the Russians, for they caused a *Te Deum* to ■■■ ■■■ occasion. But while the Emperor made preparations to advance, his ■■■ policy had operated a ■■■ diversion, by rousing against Russia her ■■■ enemies ■■■ Turks. Napoleon had advanced ■■■ Finkenstein, ■■■ ■■■ awaited the proper time for placing ■■■ self at ■■■ head of his troops, when he learned ■■■ a revolution in Constantinople ■■■ ■■■ sultan ■■■ ■■■ life, ■■■ raised Mah■■■■ ■■■ the ■■■ throne. The ■■■ negotiations of General Sebastiani ■■■ rescued ■■■ Porte ■■■ the influence of England, and brought the former ■■■ ardently into hostility with Russia, that the standard of the Prophet was unfurled.

At the time of receiving this intelligence, the Emperor had ordered ■■■ the contingent of Spanish troops, ■■■ formably to a treaty of alliance with that monarchy. These were ■■■ for the line of the Elbe, ■■■ and ■■■ shall see ■■■ result hereafter. Somewhat later, occurred General Gardanne's embassy ■■■ Persia; ■■■ opening for which had already been prepared by the successful mission of my friend Jaubert, in which ■■■ reader ■■■ remember I ■■■ proposed taking part.

Since the interview in which I made ■■■ proposal, only two years had elapsed, ■■■ ■■■ interval ■■■ many events ■■■ ensued! Austria conquered — Prussia occupied — Russia threatened — Naples wrested from ■■■ house ■■■ Bourbon — the ■■■ republic transformed into ■■■ kingdom of Holland — ■■■ new kingdoms added to the old Germanic body, ■■■ a fourth, the kingdom of Westphalia, in progress, in defiance of the treaty of the same name; all this, too, accomplished ■■■ if by enchantment! Verily, in the preceding age, to convert one Marquis of Brandenburg into a King of Prussia, had created

far more stir among the older diplomacy of Europe. Thus the geographer had enjoyed a sinecure, but now, no sooner had he delineated, "according to the authorities," his political map of Europe, than, *presto*, boundaries disappeared, and Napoleon's work was done.

Gardanne's affair was none of those pompous embassies, despatched by our former kings to the East; it pertained to those ideas which had germinated in the mind of Bonaparte, at the very dawn of his power; a light which the Emperor had, in fact, first cast upon the shadow of his coming greatness before him, which never ceased to rivet his attention. I knew, from an unquestionable source, that the legation had been conceived by the Emperor as a much grander scale; in fact, that he had resolved to send to the Shah of Persia four thousand infantry, commanded by chosen and experienced officers, a thousand muskets, and fifty pieces of cannon. I am certain the orders were issued for these arrangements. The object proposed by the Emperor, which he avowed, was maturing this design, to enable the Shah, in person, with eighty thousand men, to make a formidable diversion upon the provinces of Russia. But there existed another long cherished, real, and abiding motive, which reigned paramount in the recesses of his thoughts,—the desire of striking England in the heart of her Asiatic possessions. Such was the chief object of Gardanne's mission, the circumstances permitted the Emperor to give all the importance he would have wished: he was constrained to be satisfied with merely sending an engineer and artillery officers, who, on their arrival, were greatly astonished at the numbers of English whom they found in Persia.

To revert for a moment to more private and personal matters, Josephine had accompanied the Emperor as far as Mayence, and remained there for some time after his departure, when he returned to Paris, at

the period, I believe, when M. de Talleyrand, who had also remained at Mayence, received orders to rejoin at Warsaw. Well assured of the pleasure I should experience from being able to gratify her in any thing, the Empress had the goodness to recommend various persons to my notice, and I need not say, that such recommendations always called forth my utmost zeal. The following billet, of many similar ones, falls in with the present date, and shews, that, since my removal from Paris, she at least had not forgotten :—“ Monsieur Bourrienne,—M. Fury, a citizen of Geneva, comes to Hamburg, to follow a lawsuit relative to a property, his claims on which are contested. I request you to recommend him to your good offices, and I address you in his favour, so much the more willingly, that I can profit by the opportunity to send you renewed assurance of my friendship. JOSEPHINE.

“ Paris, 11th February, 1807.”

During the early months of this year, my occupations in Hamburg, in respect to the domestic affairs of my diplomatic circle, gave me more trouble than usual. The genius which can wield the whole energies of warfare, have charms upon the eye of battle; a rapid movement, impressed by a single will upon the minds of living men; may dazzle the multitude, and lightning blinds, by its brightness, the eye that gazes but when, at a distance, the theatre of glory, behold the results, weighing the people down to earth, the genius of conquest and the genius of destruction. What a cruel spectacle was opposed to my view! I was doomed continually to hear the complaints of universal distress; and, far from relieving, to issue orders which aggravated the evil, by increasing sacrifices already immense. In the midst of so much unavoidable suffering, too, there were those agents of the Emperor, who, to shew off their own importance,

or to forward their own interest, rendered calamities still more grievous. I was to contend with the prejudices of the sufferers, and, above all, the military functionaries. The greatest misfortune of the empire, in my opinion, was the abuse of that power arrogated by the wearers of great epaulettes. My situation then was to judge of all that is odious in military government—the worst, in my judgment, that can exist. Bernadotte, indeed, was a solitary example of disinterestedness; but he loved to be talked about. The more the Emperor depreciated, the more he drew public attention to his actions. He sent me an account of the brilliant affair of Braunsburg, where his division had been particularly distinguished. The following are the terms in which he desired his relation to be published, and of many examples like it:—“My dear Minister,—I send you a relation upon the affair of Braunsburg; probably you will think it material to communicate it: in that case, I shall be obliged by your getting the account inserted in the Hamburg journals.” I did as he wished, for really the Emperor’s injustice rendered it necessary that Bernadotte, for his own honour, should establish the truth of facts.

The surveillance of the emigrants was at this time, as always, my disagreeable function. Fouché continued to pretend that they were formidable, in order to enhance the importance of his own ministrations. Count Gimel, who had so long been an agent for the emigrants, being dead, after various changes, he was definitively settled in that capacity by Louis XVIII, whose faithful servant he had been, as formerly of Louis XVI, whose captivity he had shared, and who has consigned his name to honourable memory in his history. That name must have recalled strange remembrances to Fouché, who charged me, accordingly, to redouble my watchfulness. This distrust, whether real or well feigned, was

carried to such extreme, that I frequently received advices to watch those who were far from suspecting themselves objects of [redacted] [redacted]. Often, too, [redacted] informations purchased at a dear rate in Paris, [redacted] minister [redacted] police would [redacted] the accredited envoys of France [redacted] foreign countries to [redacted] themselves with rigour, [redacted] [redacted] their time in searching [redacted] personages denounced, who had never been within [redacted] [redacted] of their influence. [redacted] for one [redacted] allowed [redacted] opportunity to [redacted] of tampering the severity of Fouché's instructions.

Another of my duties, incessant during [redacted] [redacted] campaign, was to provide necessaries for [redacted] army. [redacted] many articles of clothing [redacted] demanded by the Emperor, that the whole [redacted] of Hamburg, with Lubeck and Bremen to boot, could not have supplied the orders. I entered into an engagement, therefore, with a house in Hamburg, authorizing the partners, notwithstanding the Berlin decree, to import the requisite articles from England. I thus obtained cloth and leather by a sure way, and at half the price. Our soldiers might have perished of cold [redacted] hundred times over, had [redacted] ridiculously stood upon punctilio with the Continental System, and the confused [redacted] of inexplicable decrees relative to English merchandise. [redacted] Hamburg, for instance, [redacted] its territory, possessed any manufacture of coarse cloth; according to M. Eudel, director of the customhouse, every article of woollen stuff was prohibited; [redacted] yet I had [redacted] supply fifty thousand great-coats [redacted] [redacted] order. Another arrived for sixteen thousand coats, thirty-seven thousand vests, to be made up and [redacted] [redacted] with all despatch. The Emperor demanded of [redacted] two hundred thousand pairs of shoes, in addition [redacted] forty thousand just transmitted; yet [redacted] [redacted] said, *tanned and curried hides cannot enter [redacted]burg*. The director took my proceedings in high dudgeon: I was quite easy. My woollens and my leather arrived; great-coats, coats, vests, [redacted] shoes, [redacted] [redacted]

quickly made; and our soldiers thus found themselves fortified against the rigours of a winter campaign. My representations at length induced go- hear reason with me; I carried on my way with England, to the great comfort of our troops, who found themselves well clothed and well shod. But could any thing in the world be more absurd than commercial laws enforced to our own detriment?

At the end of Eylau, I received a despatch from Talleyrand, accompanied by a statement of the murderous conflict, more favourable to the querors than to the opposite party—for I dare not say, vanquished, applied to the Russians. Had any thing been wanting to confirm the unsuccessful result of that day, it would have been supplied by the anxiety evinced on the part of Napoleon that his version should, by all possible means, be first dispersed throughout Germany. The Russian account, coming previously, might have produced troublesome results. But perhaps the reader may complain that I maintain an almost total silence on the events which followed this engagement, and brought on the memorable battle of Friedland, the result of which was incontestably in our favour. But there needs not to repeat what is known to all Europe, in the immense results of that victory. The interview at Tilsit is one of the culminating points in modern history, and the waters of the Niemen reflected the glory of Napoleon in its meridian splendour. Until then it had been rising—for many years longer it retained the ascendant,—but the sequel! What passed externally at Tilsit, the friendship of the two emperors, the situation of Prussia's monarch, the world knows; and I wanted my ordinary means of closer intelligence; for Rapp was then marching upon Dantzic.

I give, however, some interesting private particulars; and, first, of what passed in the apartment of the Emperor at Tilsit. He received the visit of

the King of Prussia, an unfortunate prince, whom his Queen Wilhelmina had accompanied, was banished to a windmill beyond the city, his only habitation, while the two emperors occupied the same quarter, separated by the Niemen. The day I now relate was reported to me, by the colonel, who on that day commanded the imperial guard, sitting in the interior of the saloon; I give it therefore with confidence, though not entirely pledging myself. After Alexander had entered, the two emperors conversed together in a balcony, while an immense multitude below hailed their enthusiastic acclamations. Napoleon began the conference, as in the preceding year with the Emperor of Austria, by addressing to Alexander some polite expressions on the mutability of warlike success. While they were conversing, the King of Prussia announced, with emotion, which was visible, may easily be conceived, since, hostilities being suspended, and his dominions overrun, he no longer any hope save in the generosity of the conqueror. Napoleon himself, it is said, appeared troubled with his situation, and invited him, together with his queen, to dinner. While seating themselves at table, Napoleon, with much politeness, announced to the fair guest, that "he restored to her Silesia." This province the queen had very much wished should be retained in the arrangements then were necessarily to take place.

The Prince de Wittgenstein, of whom I have not yet spoken, holds an important place in these my recollections; he lived, I may say, familiarly together, during his residence in Hamburg, and afterwards appear. Here, without occupying any particular situation, he enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign, the King of Prussia, to whom his political talents and counsels proved of great utility on various occasions. After the treaty of Tilsit, in the summer of 1807, the Prince made a voyage into England.

On returning, ■■■ came to see me: our conversation naturally turned upon the grand political interests which were agitating around us, and, as he had reason to repose perfect confidence in me, I learned many things, on the aspect of English politics, then useful, now curious; ■■■ which constitute ■■■ grand occupation of those who put faith in diplomacy. Prince de Wittgenstein told me, ■■■ a courier, expedited from Tauroggen, did, on the 30th July, remit to M. Alopcus, Russian plenipotentiary in London, very important despatches. One of these, which the Prince assured me he had read, stated, that time did not permit to send a copy of the treaties which had just been signed ■■■ Tilsit. ■■■ same day, ■■■ Alopcus expedited a courier to Russia, with the commercial treaty just concluded; and it may give some insight into the policy of England, though the treaty itself be now of no importance, to state, that, in every respect, it was identically the same as the one offered in March by the Russian envoy on his arrival. Then, the English ministry would not even hear it mentioned; but, as one French victory followed another, so concession followed concession, till, finally, the treaty was concluded, such as first proposed. Yet I know not why England should give herself the trouble to affect squeamishness about conditions, which, when interest serves, are found to bind her to nothing.

On the morrow, continued the Prince in substance, after M. Alopcus had received ■■■ laconic despatch from Tilsit, he offered, officially, to the court of London, the mediation of Russia, to bring about ■■■ new treaty of peace between France and England, preparatory to a general peace. On the ■■■ of August ■■■ a privy council assembled at Windsor, at which George III. was present. Two days after, Mr Canning replied, but verbally, to M. Alopcus—and every one knows the difference in diplomacy between things said and things written—"that the British cabinet

accepted the mediation of Russia, but on condition of being furnished with copies of the public and of the treaty, the King being informed that nothing contrary to the interests of the crown, and of his people, had been stipulated." Mr Canning added, that "Austria, before the opening of the campaign, having offered her mediation between the belligerents, it would be just that she acted in concert with Russia, in the mediation actually proposed; a proceeding the more proper, that the Emperor of Vienna had formerly offered such mediation voluntarily." Mr Fox, M. Alopceus despatched a courier, with the verbal reply of Mr Canning. The Emperor had, at the same time, declared to Mr Jacobi, Prussian minister at London, "That the King deplored the misfortune which had befallen his master, and condoled with him thereon; but that, the ports of Prussia being shut against British ships, the interests of his people, and the honour of his flag, forced him to adopt hostile measures against Prussia." The Prince added, to all these interesting pieces of information, that the Prince of Wales and Mr Canning strongly inclined to peace, and that the majority of the English nation earnestly coincided in the same desire.

By the treaty of Tilsit, concluded on the 7th, ratified two days after, the map of Europe was altered than by that of Presburg, the preceding year. Russia, indeed, suffered no shameful impositions, since her territory remained inviolate; but Prussia! Yet there historians who extol the moderation of Napoleon, in having respected some of the monarchy of the Emperor Frederick.—Vaunt his glory, his genius, the rapidity of his decisions, the omniscience of his judgment—and all the while comprehends you: to commend his moderation. True! Of a truth, gentlemen, you thus run the risk of getting discredited and laughed at.

* His late Majesty, George IV.

This is no moot point : to accuse Napoleon of moderation, "fixes upon him a most wrongful sentence," especially in reference to the transactions of 1806. But there is one accusation pertaining to this date, from which his name and policy must be redeemed. He has been blamed for not restoring the kingdom of Poland. Such a requisition at this period, may arise—I shall excuse the expression—only from French impatience. I, too, ardently wished the re-establishment of the Polish monarchy, but I still regret, for the interests of France and of Europe, that Poland was not restored; because a desire, even when founded on reason, has not been gratified, are we therefore to conclude, that our duty to have been fulfilled despite of all obstacles? Now, at the close of the campaign of Tilsit, obstacles to the re-edification of Polish independence were insurmountable. Had the whole of that unhappy country been ceded by Prussia, nothing more easy for Napoleon than to have given freedom to its inhabitants, by declaring himself their protector. But several of the Polish provinces had fallen to Austria's share, and a still greater number had been pounced upon by Russia in the successive divisions of the monarchy. Any attempt at restitution roused these two powers to make common cause; and right would have been enclosed by the Austrian army of observation, Russia remained almost unbroken in our front; Napoleon either have revoked his declarations of independence, or have maintained them by the sword. In either case, the treaty of Tilsit, an advantage and necessary to him, would have taken place. These reflections, it is most important to remark, apply exclusively to the period of which we now speak, and have no reference to the final establishment of Poland. At a later date, as we shall see—when the pear was ripe—the intrigues of inferior chiefs, the ambition of a secondary class, interposed to prevent Napoleon from accomplishing the views

which he had ever cherished of elevating the heroic Poniatowski from the ranks of his guard, ■ the sceptre of his own heroic nation.

One throne, however, was at this time added to the monarchies of Europe,—that of Westphalia, in favour of the “little blackguard,” who, from petty officer of a corvette, was now transformed into a king, that his ■ might have ■ royal prefect ■. The kingdom of ■ Westphalia ■ was constituted ■ of Hesse-Cassel, which formed the nucleus, a portion of the provinces torn, through ■ Emperor’s moderation, from Prussia, of Paderborn, Fulda, Brunawick, and part of Hanover. At the ■ time, though ■ favourer of ■ measures, Napoleon planted upon the banks of the Vistula the grand duchy of Warsaw, bestowed on the King of Saxony, so that he might, as occasion served, either increase or root it out. Meanwhile, the Polish provinces of Austria and Russia were left ■; partisans conciliated in the north; and still a hope for the future given ■ Poles. Alexander, yet more the dupe than his father had been of the political coquetry of Bonaparte, consented to these arrangements; recognised in the slump all the king’s ■ by Napoleon; accepted several provinces which had belonged to his despoiled ally, by way of consolation, doubtless, for having ■ in the attempt of getting more restored to him; and the two emperors separated, the best friends in the world.

Napoleon returned to Paris towards the end of July, after an absence of ten months. Recent events had given to opinion in his favour a moral force greater than had yet obtained since his coronation. Still the game was doubtful, on more than one point. The war raged in all its intensity with England; the ■ King had resumed his Quixotism,—this, indeed, was a trifle, but ■ served to disturb the political susceptibilities; and war still continued between Russia and the Ottoman Porte. The influence of the Emperor had

here a flame which all the exertions of Sebastiani, seconded by those of Guilleminot, and aided by his own intervention, could not extinguish. England even (a strange proceeding on her part) attempted to allay the ferment; but Mustapha Baractar continued his enmity to Russia. Nor, indeed, was it easy to answer the Turk's logic; Russia, though beaten, demanded from the two pachalics north of the Danube: What could she have done more, asked he, had she been victorious?

On the 3d of August, an English squadron, of twelve sail of the line, and as many frigates, passed the Sound, under Admiral Gambier. At the same time, the British troops in the isle of Rugen were re-embarked. We in the north could not divine what was to be undertaken with forces so considerable: alas! our uncertainty soon ceased. M. Didelot, French minister at Copenhagen, arrived at Hamburg on the 9th, in the evening: he had the good fortune to escape through the Great Belt, in sight of the English, without being pursued. I instantly despatched his report, by an extraordinary courier, to Paris. Twenty thousand British troops, under the command of Lord Cathcart, had likewise been sent into the Baltic, and the coasts of Zealand were blockaded by ninety sail. Mr Jackson, English envoy at court of Copenhagen, backed by these troops, made demands which he had been directed to propose to the Danish government. England pretended to apprehend an invasion of Denmark by French troops. Her demands, therefore, were nothing less than the surrender of the whole Danish fleet and stores. These, true, were to be held only in trust, but there existed a condition, until which presented but small security for the future; the deposit was to be retained until there should be no farther need of such precaution. The threat, and its execution, close upon this insolent demand. After a noble but vain resistance, and a bombardment, Copen-

hagen surrendered, and the Danish fleet was destroyed. It would be difficult to find in history an abuse more cowardly ■■■ revolting, of force against weakness.

Some of the principal consequences of the treaty of Tilsit, I have already enumerated; ■■■ it ■ more ■■■ probable, that, had the bombardment of Copenhagen pre- ■■■ those arrangements, ■■■ Emperor would have treated Prussia with still greater severity. He could have erased her from the number of states, ■■■ withheld ■■ gratify Alexander. I ■■■ ■■■ Prussia, however, ■■■ ■■ ■■ idea, ■■■ I had noted on this subject a remark of Bonaparte ■■ the poet Lemercier, during our early residence ■■ ■■■ maison. The man of letters had been reading to the ■■■ Consul a poem, in which occurred some allusion to the Great Frederick: "You ■■■ a zealous admirer of his," said Bonaparte; "what, then, do you ■■■ ■■ him so astonishing? he ■■ not equal to Turenne."—"General," replied Lemercier, "it ■■ ■■ merely the warrior that I ■■■ in Frederick; you would not forbid ■■■ admiration of a ■■■ who, even ■■ the throne, cultivated philosophy." The First Consul replied in a tone half conciliating ■■■ sarcastic, "Certainly, my good Lemercier, such is not my intention; ■■■ that ■■■ not the ■■■ prevent my blotting ■■ kingdom from the chart."

Peace being concluded with Russia, it became requisite ■■ choose our ambassador, not only ■■ main- ■■■ the ■■■ situations of amity, but ■■ prompt ■■■ in her promised mediation between ■■■ ■■■ of Paris and St James's. ■■■ mission ■■ Emperor confided ■■ Caulincourt, against whom there existed ■■ ■■■ prejudices, on some circumstances ■■■ nected with the death of the Duke d'Enghien. This sentiment, at once vexatious and unjust, had preceded Caulincourt's arrival, and, as was feared, would occasion his reception at St Petersburg to ■■ less honourable, ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ minister of France, ■■■ ■■■ personal merits. I know, however, for

certain, that, after a short explanation with Alexander, that monarch not only retained no doubts unfavourable to the ambassador, but to him, individually, with much friendship.* Caulincourt's mission; England, having resolved never to permit the conquest of the Continent, which Napoleon so evidently meditated, seemed invincible repugnance to admit the mediation of Russia. She counted on the indignation of kings, and on the spirit of the people, discouraged the gigantic ambition towards universal dominion with which Napoleon successfully advanced for the last two years. He, on his part, armed in his imagination with combinations, and dreamed of arousing new enemies against his rival.

It will not be forgotten, that, in 1801, France constrained Portugal to common cause with her against England. In 1807, the Emperor repeated what the First Consul had done. Through inexplicable fatality, Junot received the command of the troops destined to march against Portugal. I say against, because such is the truth, though we presented ourselves as protectors, to deliver Portugal from the influence of England. The Emperor's choice astonished all. Was it really to Junot, a worthless compound of vanity and mediocrity, that he confided an army in a distant country, where prudence and great military talents were alike indispensable in the commander? For my part, knowing Junot's incapacity, the appointment filled me with indignation. I afterwards learned, however, by a letter which Bernadotte received from Paris, that the Emperor had sent Junot to Lisbon, as a pretext for depriving him of the governorship of Paris. That capacity, that disgusted Napoleon by his bad conduct, folly, incredible extravagance. Junot had neither firmness, dignity, nor any noble feeling. The invasion

* See his life in the Appendix, C.

of the unfortunate country, thus placed in the mercy of such a man, through imperial caprice, offered no difficulty: it was an armed promenade, not a war; but how many events were germed in that invasion! Unwilling to betray England, whom he was bound by treaties, he was unable to oppose the whole power of Napoleon, Prince Regent of Portugal, and of Brazil, declaring defence impossible; recommending to his subjects, at the same time, to receive, in a friendly manner, the French troops, announcing, that he confided to Providence the issue of an invasion, for which no motive could be alleged. He was replied, in the Emperor's name, that Portugal being the ally of England, war was carried on against England, by seizing the dominions of the House of Braganza.

But while the eagles were advancing upon Lisbon, England captured the island of Heliogoland. To the feat of which much more importance has been attributed, than it really merited. The garrison, when brought into Glückstadt, consisted of only thirty invalids. The sole consideration which gave some importance to the conquest, is the situation at the mouth of the Elbe and Eyder; the supplies and pilots required by vessels entering either river.

On returning to Paris, the first act of Napoleon had been the abolition of the Tribunate. Thus was destroyed the last shadow of a deliberative assembly, and the last remnant of a popular administration: thus had he seized power by force, and turned, on occasion served, the pretences of military success to the support of what remained constitutional of his authority. There was ingratitude too in this act, for to the Tribunate he owed the consulate for life, — the Tribunate, again, Napoleon owed the empire. He would there no longer be any check to his body, or to his Senate—not

to deliberate, ■■■ to ■■■ soldiers; ■■■ a Legislative Assembly—not ■■■ legislate, ■■■ to vote money.

■ the following November, ■■■ great change place ■■■ executive, by the introduction ■■■ code of French law, under the designation of the Code Napoleon, throughout ■ the ■■■ of the empire. Without doubt, ■■■ ■■■ of legislation, upon which the most learned men ■■■ ■■■ with indefatigable diligence, since the ■■■ of ■■■ consulate, will recommend Napoleon in history. But ■■■ it practicable, in application, ■■■ empire to such ■■■ extent, as that of France ■■■ become? ■■■ not. At least, under my ■■■ eye, I ■■■ proofs both of ■■■ inefficiency and inconveniences. The same coat will not ■■■ all statutes. I made my representations ■■■ this subject, but received no ■■■ The jury trial took pretty well; but the inhabitants of that part of Germany, accustomed to the infliction of penalties less rigorous than the punishments decreed in the Code against certain offences, felt ■■■ repugnance ■■■ be accessory to this aggravation. Hence resulted the very frequent and very serious abuse of absolving delinquents whose guilt had been demonstrated ■■■ a jury, who chose ■■■ to acquit, than condemn in ■■■ of a sentence which ■■■ judged too severe. I recollect the instance of a man convicted of having stolen a cloak, but who pleaded in extenuation, that ■■■ was intoxicated at the moment of committing ■■■ theft. When the jury came to vote, ■■■ foreman pronounced the accused not guilty, assigning as a reason, that the syndic Doorman, when dining with him one day, having ■■■ a ■■■ freely than usual, carried away ■■■ (the foreman's) cloak. ■■■ bacchanalian defence had ■■■ ■■■ cess; for how punish the criminal for a delinquency committed also ■■■ cups by their ■■■ chief magistrate? But, ■■■ serious, the ■■■ institutions, ■■■ those involving ■■■ gravest affairs, become, it may be, ridiculous, when rudely forced upon a country

unprepared to receive them. I know also, at a period anterior to the present date, that extreme rigour was used to introduce the ~~French~~ code into unhappy Italy. Throughout the greater part of the Italian kingdom the paternal laws of ~~the~~ ~~ancient~~ were in force. ~~They~~ authorized no capital punishment, ~~and~~ wherever they prevailed, murders ~~were~~ frequent ~~in~~ in any country whatsoever. The first ~~case~~ a sentence of ~~death~~ executed at Placenza, the city ~~of~~ ~~which~~ ~~was~~ once deserted, ~~and~~ it seemed as if the ~~face~~ of Heaven had fallen upon a devoted place. Matters in Italy assumed, in fact, the aspect of revolt; but, though the peaceful Hamburgers were not inclined to proceed to ~~such~~ extremity, it certainly shewed great folly to think of attaching even the most patient by thwarting all their habits and ideas. The Romans always reserved a niche in the Capitol "for the gods of the vanquished nations;" they desired only to ~~bring~~ provinces and kingdoms to the empire: Napoleon, on the contrary, desired to ~~subvert~~ the empire—to realize the Utopia of ten different nations united into one people. How, for example, could justice, that safeguard of human rights, ~~be~~ rendered to the Hanseatic cities after they became departments of France? In these ~~new~~ departments were placed many judges who knew not a word of German, and were completely ignorant of ~~the~~ law. The presidents of the tribunals of Lubeck, Stade, Bremerle, and Munden, ~~were~~ obliged to have the pleadings translated ~~for~~ them in the very council chamber. To all this, ~~the~~ the impertinence ~~and~~ levity of many of those young masters who were sent from Paris, to serve their apprenticeship in jurisprudence and administration ~~in~~ the conquered provinces, of whose language and usages they ~~were~~ ignorant, ~~and~~ may conceive the love of ~~the~~ inhabitants for Napoleon the Great.

CHAPTER X.

—MURAT IN ITALY—AT BAYONNE—
JOSEPH, KING—GERMANY—PRINCE
STEIN—AT HAMBURG—BERNADOTTE'S
LETTER—NAPOLEON AND THE
—CHARACTER AND ANECDOTES OF
WITH HIS TROOPS—AFFAIRS OF
HOLLAND—ELECTION OF LOUIS TO THE THRONE—
CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN NAPOLEON AND LOUIS
—OFFER OF THE THRONE OF SPAIN—REMON-
STRANCE OF LOUIS.

THE transactions with Spain, which soon after became so prodigiously complicated, date from the close of 1807. Though distant from the theatre of events, I possessed sure means of information; but, as this is one of the portions of our history most generally, if not best known, I shall expunge from my notes all that might appear repetition to those of the reader on this subject. One fact, sufficiently surprising, and which strikes us at first, I verify, namely, that Bonaparte, while yet his greatness existed only in idea, and while bending an eye, by turns, upon every kingdom of Europe, was entertained views upon Spain. When descanting to me of the future, and the coming destinies of his star, Italy always, Germany, the East, the destruction of the power of England, engaged his meditations—Spain. Consequently, when first informed of the state of the country, he allowed considerable time to elapse before taking any active part in

events which were to exert so great an influence on the fate of Spain.

Let us consider the state of things: Godoy reigned in Spain, through the imbecility of the feeble Charles IV. His favourite had become the object of execration to all not attached to his fortune, and even his creatures, while consulting their own advantage, entertained for their patron the most profound contempt. The people's hatred was ever the just reward of favourites, because such a character implies something in the soul abject, menial, and base. If this inference applicable to favourites in general, how much more so in the case of Godoy, who, to the knowledge of all Spain, owed his elevation with the king, a royal marriage, and, as Prince of Peace, precedence over all the nobles of Castile, to the guilty favour of the queen. Godoy was a fatal man; his influence over the royal family was boundless; from a private guardman, he became chief of the state. nor can there be a doubt that he was one of the principal authors of those misfortunes which, under so many varied forms, overwhelmed Spain.

The hatred of the Spaniards against the Prince of Peace was universal. Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, the Spanish monarchy, partook in the national resentment, and declared himself openly the enemy of Godoy. The latter united himself to France, through whose powerful assistance he hoped for protection against his enemies. This alliance rendered him still more detested in Spain, and caused France to be looked upon with an unfavourable eye. The Prince of Asturias found sympathy and support in the grievances of the Spaniards, who, to a man, desired the fall of Godoy. On the other part, Charles IV. regarded as directed against himself, every attempt in opposition to the Prince of Peace. From the month of November, 1807, the king accused Godoy of designs to dethrone him.

At this period, our ambassador in Spain was M. de

Beauharnais, a relative of Josephine's husband, a person of great circumspection; but perhaps quite incompetent to such a situation at such a conjuncture. Nevertheless, though gifted with the highest talents, he possessed a certain tact, which enabled him clearly to see the state of things; and he it was who informed the government of the misunderstanding between the king and the prince. He could, in fact, no longer preserve silence, consistently with duty, since he repeatedly interfered, as I have been informed, but without effect, though employing the weight of his situation as minister of France. Could he allow the Emperor to remain ignorant, that, in the excess of resentment against his son, Charles IV. had strongly expressed his intention of revoking the law which gave to the Prince of Asturias the succession to one of the thrones of Charles the Fifth? Nor could the king limit his proceedings to verbal manifestations; he had recourse to action, rather the Prince of Peace acted in his stead, and the adherents of Prince Ferdinand were arrested. The Prince of Asturias, in violation of the king's sentiments, wrote to Napoleon, requesting his support. Open war was thus declared between the father and son, each appealing against the other, and claiming assistance from the man whose nearest wish was to get rid of both, and thus place one brother in the European college of kings; but, as I have already stated, this was a mere ambition; nor, which will hereafter appear, did the throne of Spain pass to Joseph after the refusal by Louis.

The Emperor, however, had promised his support to Charles, against his son; and, from his meddling in the troublesome family affairs, he certainly did not reply to the prince's first letters. But, seeing that intrigues at Madrid assumed a serious aspect, he began, as a precautionary measure, to send troops into Spain. The Spaniards were offended at this. The nation, in fact, did nothing to do with

France; nor was it an accomplice, either in the infamies of Godoy, or the bickerings of the royal family. In the provinces through which the French troops passed, the Spaniards demanded why the invasion had been undertaken: according to one party which they espoused, some attributed it to the Prince of Peace, others to Ferdinand; but all were indignant at the result; and disturbances broke out at Madrid with a violence which is inseparable from the Spanish character.

In these circumstances, fearful in themselves, and more threatening for the future, Godoy proposed to Charles IV. to conduct him to Seville, where he would be in better condition to employ severe measures against the factions. A proposition from Godoy to his master was less an advice than a command. Charles, therefore, resolved to depart; but thenceforth the people regarded Godoy as a traitor. The populace rose, surrounded the palace, and the Prince of Peace was at the point of being massacred in a garret, whither he had fled for refuge. One among his partisans had the presence of mind to invoke in his favour the name of the Prince of Asturias. This saved Godoy from certain death.

Charles IV. could not preserve his throne. Easily intimidated, advantage was taken of a feeling of terror, to demand from him an abdication, which he possessed neither the courage nor the power to refuse. He yielded his rights to his son, and thenceforth disappeared the insolent influence of the Prince of Peace, who remained a prisoner; the Spanish people, every unenlightened population, easily excited, expressed their joy in barbarous enthusiasm. In the course of these transactions, the unhappy monarch, removed by his very weakness from the violence and anger—more apparent, however, than real—which he had incurred, changed from perceiving himself in security, and seemed to emerge with the privilege of living, in exchange for

his crown. He resumed the desires of royalty, wrote to Paris, protesting against his own abdication, and placing in the Emperor's decision of his future fate.

During the progress of these internal dissensions, the French army pursued its march towards the Pyrenees. These mountains were quickly passed, and good news entered into Madrid, about the beginning of April, 1808. The presence in that capital, far from producing a blanching effect, all more increased the disorder. The truth is, Murat regarded the Peninsula as a prey which he had been despatched to seize for himself, and for none other; was it surprising that the inhabitants of Madrid discovered this, for, such was his imprudence, that he made no secret of his desire to become King of Spain. Of this I received unquestionable proof at the time, by my private correspondence from the Peninsula. The Emperor, informed of his doings, gave him to understand, in very significant terms, that the throne of Spain and the sceptre were intended for him, but that he should not be forgotten. Murat, then Grand Duke of Berg, of Cleves, and of Juliers, was not satisfied! Verily, now-a-days, when calmly reflecting upon the epidemic ambition, which, like contagion, spread from Bonaparte to his lieutenants, I become so bewildered in my recollection.

Still even the remonstrances of Napoleon were not sufficiently efficacious to restrain the inconsiderate conduct of Murat; and if, in the excess of effrontery, he was gaining the crown of Spain for himself, he contributed powerfully towards losing it for Louis XVIII. That monarch, whose inveterate habit had attached to the Prince of Peace, petitioned the Emperor to restore his favourite to liberty; and a descendant of Louis XIV, a Duke of Chaulieu, Anjou, solicited, in a favour, that he might live in any asylum with his family, provided his paramour

of his [redacted] accompanied him. Both [redacted] king and queen, addressing Murat in like manner, besought him to liberate Godoy. The grand duke, whose vain-glory [redacted] agreeably tickled by royal solicitations, took the Prince of Peace under his especial protection; but, at the same time, declared, that, notwithstanding the abdication of Charles, he could not acknowledge any other as king of Spain, till he should receive contrary orders from the Emperor. [redacted] declaration, and [redacted] amity with Godoy, placed [redacted] in formal opposition to the whole Spanish nation, who naturally hated the Prince of Peace, and, consequently, [redacted] [redacted] of [redacted] sentiment, embraced the party of the heir to the crown, in whose favour Charles had abdicated.

It [redacted] been stated, that Napoleon found himself in a perplexing situation with regard to this disputed right between the king and his son. This is not correct. Charles, though subsequently denying his deed, [redacted] of constraint and violence, had nevertheless abdicated voluntarily. Napoleon could hold him to his act. By that act, Ferdinand was really king; but the father asserted that the abdication had been contrary to his inclination, and retracted. The Emperor's recognition was required; he could have given or withheld it; and so, in either case, the perplexity vanished, for the revolution at Aranjuez had the general consent. [redacted] then, [redacted] Spain for Joseph! There consequently remained only the mode which he adopted,—to get possession of both princes, and say to them, Gentlemen, neither of you must be king, but I shall send to Madrid a [redacted] prince to occupy your throne.

Such [redacted] situation of affairs when Napoleon arrived at Bayonne. Ferdinand allowed himself, after some hesitation, to be persuaded, by deceived friends, to repair thither, in order to arrange with the Emperor the differences existing between himself and his father. [redacted] reaching Vittoria, reflection again

returned; he distrusted intentions of the Emperor, and suspected some Don Urquijo, besides, assured the yo monarch, that pretended arbiter wished only to secure his person, and place crown of Spain upon the head of one of his own family. then perceived, but too late, committed. Already almost in the midst of the French troops; longer his inclinations free; he hesitated, and would remain Vittoria, tortured by the thought, that, Bayonne, he should not suffered to return. All friends, and crowds who hastened to Vittoria their prince, conjured him to remain. It necessary to return to Bayonne for new instructions and new advices from the Emperor. He who was charged with this commission,* back with letter to Ferdinand from Napoleon, full of the most perfidious and crafty promises, and containing the declaration he would assign the throne to or other, according to his conviction of truth of what Ferdinand alleged, of the violence of which Charles complained. It incomprehensible how any reasonable being could allow himself be entrapped by such a device. To the letter of Napoleon, the envoy added a veration, that the of Spain would devolved Ferdinand, and that all necessary dispositions then effecting at Bayonne with intention. Victims of such matchless perfidy, it well known what happened both to the son, to father, who arrived after at Bayonne, with his inseparable Prince of Peace. He had just retracted his abdication; Bayonne seen Charles, denuded of his throne by a voluntary act, which he now disclaimed; his son, king in right of succession;

* Why not name him? was our author ashamed to find his old friend Savary engaged in so heartless, so dishonourable an office?—*Translator*.

and Napoleon, arbitrator between the two, settling difference, by taking the crown from both, and giving it to Joseph. It was the fable of the lawyers and the oyster; but the unfortunate prince had not even the consolation of a shell. The revolt of the 2d May at Madrid hastened the fate of Ferdinand, to whose charge it was laid—the suspicion, at least, fell upon his friends and adherents.

Charles IV. refused, it is said, to return to Spain, and requested an asylum in France. He signed a renunciation of his rights to the Spanish crown, an instrument bore also the signatures of the

At the close of these transactions, I saw the prince royal of Sweden, who, with the representatives of all the powers at Hamburg, strongly reprobated the conduct of Napoleon. I cannot attest that Talleyrand dissuaded from this attempt to overthrow a branch of the house of Bourbon; his enlightened mind and elevated views might have suggested such advice; but all agreed, that, had he retained the administration of foreign affairs, this revolution would have terminated in a way more generous and noble than by the tragi-comedy played off at Madrid and Bayonne.

I shall have occasion to revert to this subject: meanwhile, it behoves to return to other affairs, the dates of which have been anticipated. After the treaty of Tilsit, the hopes of the Bourbons must have seemed lost indeed. If they still cherished expectations, doubtless these were chiefly founded on the imprudence and mad ambition of him who had usurped their throne. On this subject, it was a remark of Lemoignon to Bonaparte himself, a few days before the foundation of the empire,—“General, if you make up the bed of the Bourbons, you will not lie in it ten years.”

The treaty with France and Russia being concluded, Louis XVIII, whom we then designated in his own kingdom under the name of the Count de

Lille, conceived [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] shut against him. But, [redacted] [redacted] feared [redacted] Alexander, in imitating the first act of his father in making an alliance with Bonaparte, might [redacted] imitate [redacted] second, [redacted] dismiss the French princes from his dominions, I have proof [redacted] Louis greatly deceived [redacted] [redacted] is a fact upon which I consider it a duty to insist. It was quite unexpectedly, and of his perfect free will, that Louis XVIII. left Mittau. It is as true that Alexander knew [redacted] even the King's intention [redacted] withdraw from the asylum which [redacted] enjoyed under his protection [redacted] Mittau, [redacted] learned the circumstance [redacted] only through [redacted] own officer, [redacted] brave [redacted] [redacted] Driensen, governor of that city. There exists also on this circumstance another grave misapprehension, if indeed it be not a wilful mistake, into which [redacted] writers have fallen, who assert, [redacted] Louis left Mittau for the purpose of exciting troubles in France. The time had never been [redacted] favourable for such an attempt. At Hamburg a letter was communicated to me, written by the Abbé [redacted] Boulogne to the Duke d'Aumont, dated 22d October, [redacted] quently a short [redacted] only before the royal departure, stating that the object of the King's journey [redacted] England was the hope of forming a new coalition against the French government. Vain hope also; [redacted] one characteristic of the emigrants [redacted] [redacted] entertaining constantly renewed chimerical expectations. Another letter [redacted] subsequently communicated to me, [redacted] [redacted] November, giving [redacted] [redacted] of [redacted] King's arrival [redacted] Yarmouth, on [redacted] 31st October. [redacted] [redacted] that Louis had been constrained to await, in this port, the removal of the difficulties which were presented [redacted] [redacted] disembarkation, and also to the continuance [redacted] future direction of his voyage. [redacted] was [redacted], among other things, in this letter, that the King of England [redacted] judged it proper to refuse permission to the Com[redacted] [redacted] Lille to approach London, or its environs. Finally, [redacted] palace of Holyrood, [redacted] Edinburgh, [redacted] appointed

for [] residence. Mr Ross, secretary to Mr Canning, carried [] Yarmouth [] determination of the English monarch. These precautions were singular, [] considering the relative position of the two governments [] France [] England, [] seemed [] corroborate [] preceding remarks of Prince [] Wittgenstein, as [] the pacific dispositions of [] Canning. [] the [] of Spain quickly intervened [] under pacification between Bonaparte [] any honest government impossible. [] was not, however, till 1814, that Lemercier's happily expressed prophecy had its accomplishment, after Napoleon had occupied [] bed of the Bourbons for precisely nine years and nine months.*

Fouché, grand investigator of the [] of Europe, had been set freshly to work by the [] of Spain; and I had my share of annoyance, in the shape of inquiry upon inquiry, about M. de Rechteren, formerly Spanish minister to the Hanse Towns. My information [] not of a [] to please. I had nothing ill [] say of Count Rechteren, who left [] situation four months after my installation, in 1804. This [] diving pretty deeply into the past, in order [] explain the present.

About [] time I received [] of Josephine's frequent [] in favour of merit as misfortune, thus expressed:—" [] Melon, now in Hamburg, requests [] Bourrienne, [] intercede [] his favour for [] protection and interest. I have [] more pleasure in writing [] you on his behalf, [] [] gives [] an opportunity of renewing the [] assurance of my regard." This note [] dated from Fontainebleau, whither, in imitation of the old court, Napoleon made frequent excursions. To keep up [] etiquette, he sometimes hunted, but with [] little relish for the sports of the field [] Montaigne had for [] The greenwood [] him no pleasure, for his mind [] ever [] rack [] schemes of distant ambition.

* See Appendix, D.

Instructed as I was perhaps better than any other, the hopes and designs of Bonaparte on the north of Germany, it gave me great pain to see him adopt so many measures tending directly to alienate the spirits of men from their author. Thus, an order for the French to pay the French troops quartered in the territory, was only a grievous burden, and humiliating—and humiliation was not forgiven. Of these orders I bore the stamp of profound ignorance; thus, I directed to impress three thousand men in the Hanse Towns. Three thousand sailors on a population of one hundred thousand! I procured five hundred, but they were many, for unfit for service—but they were men.

In the spring of 1808, I experienced a great loss in the removal of the Prince du Ponte Corvo, with whom it was always so easy and so agreeable to transact affairs. He received an order to take command of the French troops sent to Denmark, after the cowardly bombardment of Copenhagen.* It was during his government of Hamburg, and residence in Jutland, that he quietly and unconsciously prepared the way which ultimately conducted him to the throne of Sweden. Bernadotte, I remember, placed reliance on certain presages—in short, he believed in astrology; and I forget, that, upon one occasion, he said to me, quite seriously, "Would you believe it, my good friend, it was predicted at Paris, that I should one day be a king, but that I must pass the sea?"† We laughed together at this

* Bourrienne here says conversely, but forgets to state—that France invaded Denmark in her crippled condition; and that he himself was one of a committee, who, in 1808, rejected her claims for damages, inflicted on an ally, to the amount of twenty-three and a half millions of francs, or one million sterling, by the invasion. —

† I have heard of this before, but from what was told me in circumstances, have no doubt that the whole was a contri-

weakness of mind, from which even Napoleon was altogether exempt. No supernatural influence, however, elevated Bernadotte — his rank — his European sovereign — it was his character for benevolence and justice — his no other — his wisdom of his administration, — his promptitude in opposing all measures of oppression. He was at Hamburg on the 10th, and I heard from him on the 18th March, giving an account of his friendly reception in Denmark. On the 6th April, I had a second letter, requesting me to give orders to all postmasters in every letter addressed to the Spanish troops in his army, of which the corps of Romana (of whom anon) formed a part. These letters the postmaster general gave directions to detain until his order arrived for their delivery. Bernadotte deemed this indispensable, in order to prevent intrigues among the Spaniards under his command.

My reader will not have forgotten my intercourse with Prince de Wittgenstein, who at that time lived at Hamburg, as a private individual. The Countess de Woss, principal lady to the Queen of Prussia, had written the prince a letter, without designation of name or place, which it was said reached Hamburg on the 16th November. At the same time, Bernadotte, as governor, received a letter, from Berlin, on the 16th November, from M. Daru, enclosing a copy of the pretended letter of Madame de Woss. This copy was in French, and professedly a translation from the original in German, which had been opened in the presence of Bernadotte. He further directed me to inform the person of Prince de Wittgenstein, because he pretended, from some expressions in the French translation, that the prince was in a plot for the revolution of Bonaparte, who knew Bernadotte's weakness, in order to turn the latter's attention to a distant quarter, and thus render him less jealous of his own more palpable and nearer schemes of ambition. — *Translator.*

Westphalia, and the Emperor! The marshal came to me immediately on receipt of my incomprehensible communication. We both regarded the parties as incapable of harbouring, for a moment, such intentions; but my orders were express. We resolved to wait upon the prince, who, expecting my visit, would, I thought, be guilty, shew, I thought, signs of confusion. It was, by that time, ten o'clock; we found the prince in dishabille, quietly sipping his coffee. He received my visit, in a usual, in the most friendly manner, though with some good humoured remarks on the hour I had chosen. The marshal used all possible delicacy in bringing up the subject, so that the prince could not understand; the first idea was that we were quizzing, — a liberty which our familiar intimacy might have excused. We were obliged to explain, in direct terms, the nature of our visit, and place in the prince's hand the copy of Countess de Woss's letter. The surprise and indignation of De Wittgenstein are not to be described. He had received my letter! We had previously agreed not to arrest the prince, and to be satisfied with my word of honour not to leave Hamburg without his knowledge. This pledge was most cheerfully given. Next morning, very early, the prince came to me in a state of distraction. I knew his noble and generous nature, endeavoured to soothe his thoughts, and urged him to demand the original letter. My neither friendship nor conviction could prevail under a government so devoted to Napoleon's; we were therefore obliged to examine the prince's papers. Nothing, of course, appeared calculated to excite my suspicion. On my entreaty, the marshal persisted in my resolution not to arrest, but to go directly to the Emperor, then in Spain, giving me account of the whole proceedings, in a letter well deserving of notice, as shewing the precautions observed in this case:—

"SIRE,—I have the honour of transmitting to your majesty a letter which has been [redacted] to me by Intendant-General Dera, enclosing [redacted] document hereto annexed. I instantly caused [redacted] papers [redacted] Prince de Wittgenstein to be examined by the minister, [redacted] Bourrienne, and General Gerard, staff-major to my corps of the army. They [redacted] only [redacted] accompanying letters, 1, 2, 3, which merited the slightest [redacted]. On the morrow, the mails from Berlin arrived, as also from Königsberg; these were taken to [redacted] Bourrienne's house, and there opened in his presence by [redacted] director of the post-office. There was found only a single letter for Prince [redacted] Wittgenstein, under cover to a banker of this city. This I also enclose, No. 4. All other letters which may arrive shall in like [redacted] be seized.* All these occurrences have been conducted gently, and with the requisite prudence. I have likewise considered it my [redacted] duty to lay before your majesty the letter which Prince de Wittgenstein wrote to [redacted] [redacted] own justification, and which enclosed a copy of another which he [redacted] addressed to the prime minister of the King of Westphalia. From these letters, and the examination of his papers, I have not considered myself authorized definitively to [redacted] Prince de Wittgenstein, fearing lest, in so doing, I might act contrary to your [redacted] intentions. All the necessary [redacted] [redacted] taken, however, [redacted] his person, if need be. In this, as in every circumstance which [redacted] your majesty, I [redacted] exert my utmost ability to prove my [redacted] devotedness [redacted] your majesty. BERNADOTTE."

The Prince de Wittgenstein, as I had suggested, continued urgently to demand the production of the original letter; Count Durn replied, that it had been transmitted to the king at Konigsberg. Davoust, ■

* All the letters, 1, 2, 3, 4 were unimportant.—Author.

the other hand, maintained it had been regularly forwarded, received, and destroyed by the prince. This contradiction proved that the letter was yet in existence, and that [redacted] interest prevented the confronting of [redacted] original with the translated copy. At length the former was produced on the 27th November, 18[redacted]. I immediately gave one translation, and General St. Alphonse, aide-de-camp to Bernadotte, made another. These, together with the translation remitted [redacted] Berlin, were laid before the Emperor. He readily perceived the difference, [redacted] that neither the translation nor original supported any charge against Prince [redacted] Wittgenstein. Such is the truth on a subject of great [redacted] importance, which has since been much misrepresented, [redacted] to my prejudice, especially in the *Souvenirs* of Baron Stein.* In addition [redacted] the autographs and copies of all the documents, I have in my possession [redacted] letter [redacted] Prince de Wittgenstein, [redacted] whom I [redacted] communicated my intention to publish these *Memoirs*, which alone would be [redacted] [redacted] destroy all disadvantageous interpretations—even those of malevolence. I quote this letter here, though of [redacted] date posterior to the time embraced by my *Memoirs*:—

“ Marshal Davoust was governor of Berlin when I [redacted] denounced; and it is probable that [redacted] [redacted] took place in consequence of his requisition. Your sentiments, and the [redacted] in which you conducted

* The reader will probably recollect, that Baron Stein, by his writings, especially his *Political Testament*, was a main instrument in cherishing the enthusiasm and love of liberty of the Prussian youth. This was the real and quite sufficient cause of Bonaparte's enmity. But Stein, in his *Souvenirs*, attributes this to the affair of Wittgenstein, and implicates, most improperly, Bourrienne, as having constrained the prince to write letters to him (Stein.) Thus the prince, in the letter quoted, shews to have been a barefaced falsehood, invented by the assertion.—*Translator.*

yourself during those times, cannot be better known to any one than to myself, and therefore no one renders you more justice than I do. When I was denounced at Hamburg, and threatened with being arrested, the authorities, and yourself especially, manifested a particular interest in my situation. If you give the public, in your *Memoirs*, an account of the transactions which took place between us during your residence at Hamburg, you will assert, every justice, that you never engaged me to write the Prussian minister, Baron Stein, a letter, of the content and of the import of the one quoted by the author of a work entitled, *My Souvenirs, or, The Sins of Napoleon*. On the contrary, I cherish, in dearest remembrance, all your excellent proceedings towards me, during a period of no ordinary difficulty. I am ready to make a similar declaration to all who would call in question these my sentiments. This, I am convinced, will suffice to place in its true light your conduct in that period; and I believe, my dear friend, you will repel every accusation by this my attestation. It is a barefaced calumny to impute to you the slightest blame, so far as concerns me, at that period. The declaration which I now transmit to you, the expression of my lively and unalterable gratitude for all that you did in my behalf, afford abundant proof of your honourable conduct. I repeat to you, my dear friend, with pleasure, that all you did for me in the crisis in question, will be remembered from my heart. I shall preserve the faithful remembrance of it to the last moment of my life; and it will ever be a duty, on my part, to undeceive those who may incline to doubt your generous exertions in my behalf. Let such address themselves to me; I shall know how to answer them. This, my dear friend, is the only reply I have to give. Permit me to unite therewith the expression of my sincere attachment and high consideration.

"Berlin, June, 1828. WITTGENSTEIN."

On the subject of [] conduct, while [] Hamburg, the reader will excuse [] confession of a feeling [] honourable pride, with which I quote the following autograph letter from [] King of Prussia, which also brings back [] narrative to the proper date:—

" Mr Ambassador de Bourrienne, — I am informed of the dispositions of equity and obliging interest manifested by you towards my [] and servants [] occasions, wherein it [] been necessary to have [] [] you, and when your relations and the circumstances of the [] permitted you to manifest such sentiments. I do myself a real pleasure by directly returning you my thanks; and I beg that you may continue to extend to my subjects the [] consideration, [] opportunities, which, doubtless, will be frequent, [] in future. Be assured I shall retain a grateful remembrance thereof — and will feel much satisfaction in proving, by all [] in my power, that I render ample justice [] your conduct.

" I pray God, &c. FREDERICK WILLIAM.

" *Königsberg, March 18, 1806.*"

Such is one — but I [] trace the picture of all — the turpitudes to which secondary spirits, in their ambition, gave themselves up, in [] to prove their zeal, [] to procure a slice of Europe, which the lieutenants of the Emperor regarded as the pie of kings, though [] disputed with him the kissing crust. But neither [] baseness confined to these; it would astonish [] know the eagerness with which the princes of Germany bent themselves [] yoke. I might produce autographs, with princely signatures, addressed to myself, in which the writers announce, with great self-complacency, their accession [] the Confederation of the []. Such missives, in fact, I [] continually receiving; they prove, [] than any thing else, the amazing influence exercised by

Napoleon in Germany, and the anxiety of its ancient republicans to range themselves under his protection of his power.

As successor, though still subordinate to Bernadotte, arrived at Hamburg, as governor, General Dupas, in April, 1807, by this appointment the Emperor cruelly disappointed the wishes and the hopes of the unfortunate inhabitants of Lower Saxony. The exactions of his functionary were fearful. "So long," was his usual expression, "as I see these people rolling in their carriages, I must have money from them." Yet, to do him justice, his extortions were not for himself; he became the bloodsucker of others, not to nourish his own life, but him whom he had devoted his existence. The senate of Hamburg granted to marshals thirty fredericks per day, for the expenses of their table, to generals, twenty. Dupas, though entitled only to the latter, demanded the former allowance, which was refused. To avenge himself nobly, he required to be served every day with a breakfast and dinner of thirty covers. At his table only the most exquisite wines were used; even his menials, down to the scullion, were treated to champagne, the best fruits, brought from the great expense from the best hot-houses in Berlin. Dupas had thus the satisfaction of knowing that he was the city more than any of his predecessors. The twenty-one weeks he remained amounted to 183,000 francs, (£7625.) His passionate brutality was ludicrous in itself, but, from the power which he held, might become terrible in its consequences. An officer of artillery informed me, that, having received an order to plant two light guns before the gate of Altona, he went to inform the general. He found him in a furious passion, something, smashing every article within reach: in presence of an officer, he broke more than a dozen plates, which certainly were very dear. Hamburg being a

city, long customary shut gates at nightfall; but on Sundays they remained open about three quarters of an hour longer, to accommodate those who had been abroad. Dupas took it into his head to shut the gates at seven, and, of course, being spring, in broad daylight. On Sunday the order was observed; consequently, the first Sabbath evening, peaceable inhabitants, who, as usual, had been taking their recreation in the city, were much astonished to find themselves shut out. The number waiting for admittance increased every instant, and, after in vain requesting the officer of guard to admit them, some of their friends were resolved to go to the commandant. The latter, accompanied by the general, soon arrived, and, no doubting that they came for the purpose of ordering the gate to be unlocked, their approach was greeted by a cheer. Dupas, either considering this as an insult, or mistaking it for a signal to sedition, instead of opening the gate, ordered the guard to fire upon several hundred peaceable citizens, who only asked to be admitted to their own hearths. The consequence was, that many were killed, and many seriously wounded; among the former, a poor man, who, to support a wife and five children, sold cakes and gingerbread, fell by one of the bullets, while quietly seated on his barrow. Fortunately, after the first discharge, the blind fury of Dupas calmed a far, he did not repeat the order to fire; but the gate still remained closed; and next morning a proclamation was issued, forbidding the inhabitants, under the penalties, to cry *hurra*! more than three persons to assemble together in the streets! Next day, under the pretext caused by the fatal brutality of the soldiers, commanded by a no less brutal chief, I wrote Bernadotte. His answer will best shew the goodness of the future Royal of Sweden,

MEMOIRS OF

in other respects too remarkable not to interest my reader.

"I perfectly comend, my dear minister, in your opinion on this subject, and am, at all times, ready when I see injustice committed. On carefully considering the riot which occurred on the 19th, it is impossible not to acknowledge that the error lay, in the first place, with the officer, who shut the gates perhaps a little too soon. I ask, also, why were not the gates opened, instead of the military being ordered to fire? But, the people manifest decided obstinacy and insubordination: they not render themselves criminal, by throwing stones at the guard, forcing the palisades, and refusing to listen, to the voice of the magistrates? It is to be regretted, I doubt, that they have proceeded to such excesses, occasioned by their not listening to the voice of their civil chiefs, who ought to be their first sentinels. In short, my dear minister, the senator who distributed money to appease the multitude, would have more effectually calmed their effervescence by advising them to await patiently the opening of the gate: he might have taken the trouble, too, in my opinion, of going to the commandant, or to the general, and procured permission of ingress. When an excited mass of people resort to violence, there is no longer security for any one from that violence: the protecting power must display itself in activity, and its intervention arrests the violence. The senate of ancient Rome, so guarded and jealous of its prerogatives, remitted to a dictator, in times of trouble, the terrible right of *interducing*; and that magistrate recognised no other code than his own will, and the awe of his lictors. The ordinary laws, their course and their guarantee, until after the people returned to their duty. The feeling excited at Hamburg could only be repressed,

or prevented, by a severe tribunal, which, being happily not necessary, ■■■■■ Dupas has orders to dissolve it, and justice will resume her usual rights.*

“ J. BERNADOTTE.

“ *Dessel, ■■■ May, 1806.*”

Upon returning to Hamburg, Bernadotte transferred Dupas to Lubeck, which city, much p■■■■■ his former quarters, suffered ■■■■■ severely from such a guest. The expense, indeed, became intolerable; for, besides ■■■ table being served with the ■■■■ profusion ■■ at Hamburg, he required every article of housekeeping, down ■■ coal and candle, ■■ be furnished. T■■■ opened a door to ■■ ■■■■ of abuse, and the senate deputed M. Nolting, a venerable member, to wait upon the general, to request his acceptance of twenty louis daily, (£■■■■ per annum,) in lieu of the expenses of his table alone. At this proposal General Dupas g■■ into ■■ fury — Offer him money! what profanation! Insult his honour! and, with ■■ volley of oaths, he turned out the astonished senator, who, dull man, could not perceive where lay the dishonour in ■■ honest reckoning. But, not satisfied with dismissing, the general gave orders ■■ his aide-de-camp for immediately arresting the aged functionary. The aide-de-camp, Barral, dared not openly disobey; but, with the ■■■■■■ for gray hairs characteristic of virtuously educated youth, instead of arresting, he merely requested ■■ Nolting ■■ remain in his ■■■■ house until he could pacify the

* The reader will probably be at a sad loss to discover much goodness ■■ heart ■■ this letter. In principle, ■■ expresses the ■■■■ and heartless tyranny, and, in reasoning, is both judiciously and historically erroneous. The military authorities are admitted to have been the aggressors; they rendered themselves responsible, therefore, for all acts caused by that aggression. The allusion to a Roman dictator is a most disgusting specimen of affectation and revolutionary learning. — Translator.

general, which, with great difficulty, ■■■ effected ■■■ day. But how did ■ this end? Why, the incorruptible Dupon pocketed the twenty louis daily! Still ■■■ not ■■■ the *generous* concession, without affecting to grumble between his teeth, and, oftener ■■■ once, vociferating, "■ ■■■ me to the soul, ■■■ ■■■ cita force sur to take pelf!"

The year 1808 was fruitful in remarkable events: the commencement, for ■ received copies ■ the first of January, introduced the commercial code; an extraordinary institution—for ■■■ no longer any commerce. About the same period, many territorial accessions ■■■ made ■ the empire along the German frontier, by force of decrees and senatorial decisions, which possessed at least ■■ recommendation,—that of making conquests without effusion of blood. The marshals, generals, and superior officers attached to the imperial guard, received large gratifications after the treaty of Tilsit, ■ the expense of the vanquished. On the ■ of February, I could not help remarking ■ singular coincidence of events in Paris, Lisbon, and Rome, which, more than any thing else, would prove the incredible activity impressed by Bonaparte on his reign. At Paris, a niece of Josephine, Mademoiselle de Tascher, raised by Napoleon to the rank of ■ princess, espoused the reigning prince of Ahremberg;* at Lisbon, almost ■ the same hour, Junot announced that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign in Portugal; and at Rome, the French troops under Miollis took possession of ■■ Eternal City,—the first ■ ■ series of ■■■ by which ■■ Pope ■■ condemned to expiate ■■ consecration of Napoleon. The following day, Prince Borghese, imperial brother-in-law, ■■

* ■■■ marriage was never consummated, and the Princess remained one of the most faithful companions of the Empress, after her divorce from Napoleon. — Translator.

constituted governor-general of the departments beyond the Alps; by which nomination Menon, of whom our reader has heard little since the Egyptian expedition, was forced to quit Turin, where he had always remained as governor of Piedmont, and take up his residence in Florence, as president of the junta of Tuscany; for Bonaparte would never allow him to return to Paris. But Tuscany was soon after transformed into a separate government, and conferred on his sister Elisa; the territories of Parma and Piacenza becoming departments of the kingdom of Italy. To the kingdom was also added, from the territories of the Holy See, the legations of Ancona, Urbino, Macerata, and Camerino, formed into three departments. Even apostolic long-suffering could not endure such aggression, Cardinal legate Caprara quitted Paris. These events were coincident with the transactions at Bayonne. The translation of Joseph to the Spanish throne belongs, in truth, to this epoch: Murat, as all the world knows, succeeded at Naples: thus, in placing a brother-in-law over another of the kingdoms of Europe, Napoleon, "through God's assistance," was making rapid strides towards becoming the senior of her monarchs. The appointment of Murat was attended with some of the instances of craft, or rather rascality, of which Napoleon was divested himself, amid all his grandeur. He gave to the infant brother Louis, the investiture of the grand duchy of Berg and Cleves, conferred on him the Palace d'Elysee at Paris, and constituted himself tutor; thus enjoying a seizure, but under a different name.

With regard to this fabrication of kings, I remember, during the consulate, and believe have already mentioned, about "creating kings and not being one," in the *Œdipus*—a work, by the way, which Bonaparte preferred to all the other tragedies of Voltaire—that, on the visit of the King of Etruria, the audience in

the theatre ■■■ a very pointed application of the line. "Do you hear them, Bourrienne?" said the First Consul ■■■ — "Yes, General" — "The imbecile, they shall see—they ■■■ see!" And surely ■■■ ■■■ Bonaparte ■■■ only surrounded his ■■■ brow with ■■■ diadem, and manufac- ■■■ ■■■ by the dozen, but also instituted an upstart nobility, with hereditary rights. Of this project he ■■■ delivered, in the beginning of March, 1808, when the *Moniteur* teemed with a sarrago of princes, dukes, counts, barons, and knights of the empire, — these wanted only viscounts and marquises to complete the series. For this ■■■ nobility, it seemed fitting to have a new system of education. It was resolved, therefore, to re-construct the old edifice of the university. The public instruction of youth, ■■■ we have seen, formed one of Napoleon's favourite schemes, but it ■■■ curious to compare the former plans of the General and Consul, with those adopted by the Emperor Bonaparte, in former days, contemplated ■■■ extensive system of education, which should especially embrace historical and exact learning, namely, the natural and physical sciences, ■■■ mathematics, whose positive knowledge gives to human intelligence the fullest development of which ■■■ susceptible. But the sovereign recoiled before the early thoughts of the man of genius, and his university, moulded after the usual fashion, became, ■■■ fact, but ■■■ of those schools, calculated, perhaps, to produce great scholars, but which have ■■■ reared enlightened men.

After playing the scurvy tricks ■■■ Bayonne, the Emperor returned to Paris, where he arrived ■■■ the 14th August, 1808, the ■■■ ■■■ his birth-day, which ■■■ ■■■ celebrated with great magnificence throughout ■■■ empire. ■■■ ■■■ was no ■■■ ■■■ his capital than new disquietudes arose. Russia ■■■ declared open ■■■ against Sweden, ■■■ event of which I had

intelligence Paris so early, my
 arrived very day that the declaration
 Finland had been invaded, Abo, its
 capital, occupied by the Russian troops Bonaparte,
 however, wished to maintain peace the Continent
 while he prosecuted the reduction of Spain, and,
 consequently, was forced to withdraw his troops from
 Germany Joseph had been proclaimed on the
 of June, the 21st of the month witnessed
 his entrance into Madrid, but, in ten days after, the
 of the disaster at Baylen had forced him
 leave the capital

England had just despatched troops into Portugal,
 under the command of Arthur Wellesley, since Duke
 of Wellington There could thus be longer hope
 of an accommodation with Great Britain The Em-
 peror Alexander, in of the treaty of Tilsit, had
 indeed sent Count Romansow to London, charged
 with mediatorial proposals, on the part of Russia
 These propositions were even heard How could
 they? The mediation been rejected after the
 treaty of Tilsit, while, subsequently, Napoleon had
 dethroned the King of Spain, and got up in the
 heat of Germany a mushroom kingdom for brother
 Joseph

Towards the end of September, Napoleon again
 quitted Paris, a transaction memorable his
 life, and which the agitated the whole of
 Germany,—the interview with Alexander at Erfurth
 The leading to this point were literally
 with the equipages of princes hastening thither
 The Emperor took the way by Mentz, where he
 arrived, without stopping, except pass
 the regiments echeloned along his route,
 their march from grand army towards Spain
 Once slept at Frankfort, in the palace the
 Prince Primate—an excellent but made
 other before reaching Erfurth, having merely

seen Jerome, who, in imitation of other royal prefects, escorted him to the limits of his territories. The Emperor arrived first at the place of rendezvous, and, getting on horseback, went forward three leagues to Alexander. The two Emperors embraced on the road, as I learned, with all the semblance of the friendship. Their meeting, as every body knows, was a succession of fêtes, of which Napoleon's honours, being therein greatly assisted by all the splendour of the Comic Opera—transferred from Paris, gave greater solemnity to the occasion. Most of the sovereign princes of Germany attended; neither the Emperor of Austria nor the King of Prussia were present. The former, however, addressed a letter to Napoleon, of which I got knowledge at the time, and have preserved a copy:—

“ Sir, my brother, — My ambassador at Paris informed me that your imperial majesty is about to proceed to Erfarth, to meet the Emperor Alexander. I joyfully embrace the opportunity of your approach to my frontier, as the expression of my amity and high esteem, which I have pledged to you; and send my lieutenant-general, Count de Vincent, to convey to you, sir, my brother, the assurances of these unaltered sentiments. I flatter myself, your majesty has not ceased to be convinced of them; and if false interpretations, circulated regarding the interior organic institutions established in my monarchy, have induced, at a moment, doubts respecting the sincerity of my intentions, the explanations which Count Metternich has addressed on this subject to your majesty's minister, have entirely removed them. Baron Vincent is empowered, also, to submit to your majesty the details, and to add all the explanations you may desire.

“ I beg that the same gracious reception may now be vouchsafed to him as at Paris and Warsaw.

renewed marks of favour which your majesty may confer upon him, I shall regard as an unequivocal pledge of the entire reciprocity of ■■■ sentiments, ■■■ place the seal to that perfect confidence which will leave nothing to add ■■■ mutual satisfaction. Deign ■■■ accept the ■■■ of the unalterable attachment and consideration with which I am, sir, my brother, your imperial and royal majesty's brother and friend,

— FRANCIS.

"*Presburg, ■■■ September, 1808.*"

This document seemed then, and ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ ■■■, a specimen of equivocation, by which ■■■ ■■■ impossible Napoleon could have been deceived for ■■■ instant. But his grand affair was Spain; and, as already noticed, he ■■■ allowed two things to occupy his mind ■■■ and the ■■■ time. Matters in the north, too, required caution. Denmark ■■■ resented our invasion of her territories by thirty thousand ■■■ under Bernadotte, and had claimed the mediation of Russia. At Erfurth, ■■■ those ■■■ ■■■ be ■■■ dated; and Napoleon made good his point. The Emperor Alexander recognized Joseph ■■■ king ■■■ Spain and the Indies. Napoleon, in return, it is said, (though this I do not attest,) agreed to Alexander's occupation of Finland; and to Denmark ■■■ left—resignation. After the interview, Bonaparte returned ■■■ Paris, where he presided, with great splendour, at the opening of the Legislative Assembly; and in November, ■■■ out for Spain.

Anterior to the interview ■■■ Erfurth, occurred ■■■ event which ■■■ produced a great sensation ■■■ all Europe,—the defection of the Marquis de ■■■ Romana; an enterprise conducted and executed with incredible secrecy. The Marquis ■■■ arrived in the Hanseatic territories, ■■■ the head of eighteen thousand ■■■ being a part of the Spanish troops ■■■ after the murderous conflict of Eylau, in virtue ■■■ a treaty

with Charles IV. The Spaniards were well received by the inhabitants, [redacted] difference of language [redacted] misunderstandings, which [redacted] foreigners [redacted] a [redacted] facility in deciding, by drawing their daggers. This, however, [redacted] off; and, [redacted]ly, they [redacted] much liked, [redacted] might be seen every where surrounded and playing with the children. Such disposition is rarely a deceitful indication of a good heart. As to the Marquis himself, he was a little swarthy man, with an exterior little attractive, [redacted] vulgar in appearance, but [redacted] naturally possessed great spirit, and [redacted] acquired much information in the course of his travels in almost every part of Europe. His conversation, accordingly, was most agreeable, and very instructive. During his stay at Hamburg, General Romana passed almost every evening with us, and regularly fell asleep while playing whist. [redacted] de Bourrienne was his constant partner, and [redacted] her, I remember, he perpetually addressed apologies for this involuntary breach of good manners, which, however, did not prevent his invariably recommending the siesta next morning. We [redacted] [redacted] what occasioned this periodical somnolency.

In obedience to the orders of Bernadotte, the Spanish troops took their departure for the island of Funen. Meanwhile their commander [redacted] been playing his part with admirable address. On the [redacted] of a [redacted] in honour of the new King of Spain, he gave a magnificent ball, where [redacted] the decorations were military attributes. He did the honours with infinite propriety: and, in general, was as frank with the French officers, spoke [redacted] the Emperor in such high terms, but without [redacted] least affectation, [redacted] was impossible to suspect a thought in [redacted]. Already, too, [redacted] [redacted] informed of [redacted] fatal results of the conflict [redacted] the Sierra Morena, and the capitulation [redacted] Dupont, which caused [redacted] disgrace, [redacted] the [redacted] when no [redacted] in the army doubted his receiving the

baton, the first creation of a France. In Denmark, Hamburg, the Spanish soldiers became favourites; for their leader strictest discipline to observed. On approach of Napoleon's birth-day, which was observed with much solemnity in the cities where French representatives resided, great preparations making Hamburg. The Prince of Ponte Corvo, then residing near Lubeck, for sea-bathing, the sary orders; and the Marquis, better to deceive the marshal, sent a courier request permission come to Hamburg, unite prayers with those French for the prosperity of the Emperor, and receive from the Prince's hand the grand order of the Legion of Honour, just granted him by Napoleon. Three days after, the 17th of August, the marshal received intelligence of what had passed. The Marquis had assembled a great number of English ships along the coast, and, by this means, had escaped with all his troops, except a depôt of six hundred men left behind Altona! A little later, were informed of his safe and unopposed arrival at Corunna. I able account for the drowsiness which whist could not banish. The Marquis up all night labouring in prosecution of the design which he long meditated; and, to lull suspicion, affected to shew himself every where during the day, he had taken his repose like other . The evasion surprised every body, but, I must say, affected no one, the French, for the secret wishes of the unhappy Germans could not possibly otherwise than against .

On the defection of the troops, I received letters from government, charging me redouble my watchfulness, and out those who might have been instrumental design. I found agents of England, dispersed Holstein the Hanseatic territories, were equally endeavouring

among the troops of the King of [redacted]. These manoeuvres had connection with the [redacted] of [redacted] Spaniards, [redacted] with the presence of Danican, a famous intriguer. Insubordination [redacted] already manifested itself, [redacted] Dutch soldiers [redacted] shot: [redacted] desertion became alarming. Agitators, chiefly [redacted] the little island of Heligoland, were [redacted] among the troops of Louis. [redacted] of these, through my directions, were denounced, [redacted] taken almost [redacted] the very act. They were condemned to death, [redacted] it this indispensable severity [redacted] not put an end [redacted] the plots of England, it [redacted] least threw [redacted] damp [redacted] the ardour [redacted] those employed.

In December [redacted] [redacted] remarked at Hamburg, that the post from Berlin experienced a uniform delay of five [redacted] or six hours. Trade is habitually suspicious, [redacted] merchants therefore began to feel alarmed, [redacted] demanded [redacted] inquiry into the cause. It [redacted] found [redacted] two agents from the general post-office, under the Grand Duke of Berg, (Murat,) had established a *black cabinet* in a village belonging to Lauenburg, and there stopped the courier, for the purpose of examining the letters from the Prussian capital. This being known diffused an alarm throughout the whole commercial interest, that is, throughout the whole of Hamburg. The [redacted] [redacted] truth extremely impolitic for an affair of [redacted] nature, sometimes useful, often dangerous, always very delicate, requires the utmost caution and secrecy. [redacted] opposition [redacted] all this, the mails [redacted] here exposed to two agents, subjected to superintendence, who opened them [redacted] a [redacted] tavern, and in a place here there was not even a post-office. Had the Emperor found it [redacted] to watch certain individuals in Berlin, [redacted] proper situation for

* Danican [redacted] [redacted] a principal leader during the famous days [redacted] Sections, and consequently, [redacted] one of the earliest [redacted] of Bonaparte — [redacted]

a secret cabinet was at Hamburg. On my representation the Prince of Ponte Corvo, he caused the clandestine office to be abolished,—the agents were brought to Hamburg and severely punished; for great, when they do wrong, never scruple to sacrifice lesser rogues who have been merely instruments.

Had it not been for the dire necessity of witnessing, often without the power even of alleviating, so many oppressive transactions, I should have found my residence in Hamburg a most delightful sojourn. Those who know the beauties of the place, the charming country around, and the simple, almost patriarchal manners of the inhabitants, will be no less to account for this preference. The manners and customs of the people are in fact a peculiar impress: Rarely a dispute heard of,—while daylight serves, their women and children are out of doors,—those of advanced age seated before tables, in front of their houses, drinking tea, while the children are playing around them, and the young people working. These various groups present a very interesting and picturesque aspect. Never have I seen that existence, which is careless of all save enjoyment, completely given up than in Hamburg. This, too, after all, is perhaps more conducive to real happiness than all the splendour and greatness which men frequently purchase so dearly. I could see these good people seated thus before their houses without thinking of the observation of Montesquieu, which is a source of charm. That able legislator had set out for Florence, and, on arriving, went to present a letter of introduction to the prime minister of Tuscany. Him he found seated on the steps of his door, enjoying with his friends the coolness of the evening. "I see well," said Montesquieu, "I am in the midst of a happy people, since the first minister has time thus to yield himself up to calm leisure." The meetings of the Ham-

bargers may be strictly termed family parties. In-
 deed they seldom visit in each other's houses, but,
 when entertainments are given, ■ ■ will ■■■
 splendour, ■■■ this external simplicity. ■ ■
 things they show incredible exactness, but ■ ■
 ■■■ very methodical, and punctual even to a
 fault. I remember just ■■■ instance ■ point.
 We were on very intimate terms with Baron der
 Woght, a man highly accomplished and very amiable.
 One day ■ had come to bid us adieu, previous to
 setting out next day for Paris. ■■■ de Bour-
 rienue pressed him on parting not ■ prolong his stay
 beyond the six months which he had himself fixed.
 "Be tranquil, madam," replied he, "nothing shall
 prevent my being here again on the day appointed,
 for I have just been despatching invitations to a
 dinner party for the day after my return." The Baron
 departed,—staid away ■ six months,—returned to
 ■ hour,—and his friends, without further intima-
 tion, repaired to his house, and ■ their dinner, ■
 ■ invitation of six months and one day's date!

Bonaparte, well knowing the influence produced
 by his presence, delighted frequently to shew himself
 to the people whom the fate of conquest had suc-
 cessively united ■ his empire. On these occasions,
 he loved ■ ■■■ by the splendour which surrounded
 him, while his ■■■ privileged simplicity of costume,
 ■ affability to ■ lower, and seductive courtesy ■
 the higher, ranks, attached to him ■ classes. These
 ■■■ what Napoleon termed his pleasure tours, yet
 had they always business for their primary, though
 perhaps concealed, object. His journey ■ Italy ■
 November, 1807, especially involved many grave
 considerations. Already was he meditating alliances,
 ■ studied, by loading Eugene with favours, ■
 ■■■ prepare him for those ideas of ■ divorce,
 upon ■■■ from ■ period he ■■ determined.
 At ■■■ it entered into his views ■ have ■
 conference with Lucien, because, desiring to give

away the [redacted] of his brother's daughter, [redacted] had thought of conferring [redacted] on the Prince of Asturias, who, previous [redacted] Spanish war, solicited this honour, in hopes that an alliance with [redacted] Emperor [redacted] would prove a support to his pretensions in opposition to his father and the Prince of Peace. All this took place a short time after the [redacted] of [redacted] eldest son of Louis, who had [redacted] of croup in [redacted]. As I have already shewn, Napoleon [redacted] been [redacted] unjustly accused of entertaining for this [redacted] other [redacted] affection of an uncle; but it is more than probable, had [redacted] lived, [redacted] Josephine would have remained Empress. Most certain [redacted] is that Bonaparte thenceforth began to [redacted] seriously of a divorce. Of this fact I, who [redacted] accustomed to read thoughts for the future in the present actions of Napoleon, beheld [redacted] striking proof in the [redacted] decree, which declared Eugene his successor [redacted] the crown of Italy, in default of male and legitimate heirs in [redacted] direct descent.

Lucien, ■ the invitation of his brother, repaired to Mantua, and here took place their last interview previous to the Hundred Days. Lucien consented ■ give his daughter to the Prince of Asturias; but that union ■ ■ take place. I learned from Duroc, who accompanied the Emperor ■ this excursion, to what extent Lucien carried ■ hostility to the family of Beauharnais; for to ■ disappoint their hopes ■ ■ the least motive in ■ his consent ■ give ■ daughter to the Spanish prince, a match which ■ ambassador ■ Madrid was laborious to bring about in favour of Mademoiselle de Tancher, Josephine's niece. Lucien ■ ■ forgave the Empress for the wickedness of *his* ■ counsels, and the abhorrence with which she had repelled them. ■ chiefly, notwithstanding all his republican stoicism, Lucien would have been well pleased to get over his scruples by ■ bribe of King Bourbon for his son-in-law.

During [] journey, likewise, Napoleon united Tuscany [] the empire,—a kingdom [] which, as Consul, he [] placed a Bourbon. On returning, [] Chamberry occurred the interview which young de Stael had [] the Emperor, and [] which I may [] advert.

I [] proposed to postpone the [] of Holland [] [] portion of my *Memoirs*, but the present [] a fitting opportunity for the introduction of the subject.

While Bonaparte remained chief of the French republic, [] appeared [] inconsistent to have on the south [] Cisalpine, and on the north the Batavian, [] two [] elites, gravitating upon the grand republic. But, this latter transformed into [] empire, it behoved that [] secondaries likewise should undergo a change. The republican government of Holland had in fact been long [] a shadow; still, [] under the dominion of France, it preserved [] least those forms of internal liberty, which reconcile [] [] dependence. In these circumstances, it was easy for Napoleon, who maintained his secret influence in the country, [] get [] [] deputation, entreating, that he would condescend to name a king for Holland. The deputation, consisting of Verhuell, vice-admiral; Brantzen, resident ambassador at Paris; Van byrum, member of the Supreme Council; Gogel, minister of finance; and William Six, councillor of state, arrived in [] in May, 1806, and explained their object in a speech, [] first sentence of which contained the substance of the whole:—"Sire,—We are deputed to express [] your majesty [] wish of the [] [] natives of our people; [] beseech you [] yield [] [] as supreme chief of our republic, [] king of Holland, Prince Louis, your majesty's brother, [] whom [] wholly [] respectfully confide the guardianship of our laws, [] defence of our political rights, and [] the [] of [] [] country, under the [] []

auspices of Providence, and the glorious protection of your majesty." To this humble request, the Emperor replied in kind; then, turning to Louis, words marked well the import that he attached to the word protection,—"You, prince, are thus called to reign a people whose aires owed their independence of France. then, land became united England; she conquered: a second time she was indebted to France for her existence. Let her to you kings who may protect her liberties, her laws, her religion. But you cease to be a Frenchman. The dignity of Constable of Empire shall remain to you and your descendants; it will recall those duties you have perform towards me." Louis afterwards replied, rather to his brother than to the deputation of his subjects. His speech, however, probably the only which contained sincerity, since it touched gently upon the regrets "which he experienced in removing from the presence of the Emperor." Louis, in truth, had objected his own elevation to the full extent of safe opposition. To ostensible argument,—the weakness of his health, and the unsuitableness of the climate, Bonaparte replied these harsh and unbrotherly terms:—"Better die a king, than live a prince!" There thus remained no remedy but obedience. Louis out for Holland, accompanied by Hortense, who, however, not long continue with her royal husband. The king desired render himself beloved by his people; and, as this could only be effected by encouraging among a trading people, he is strictly enforcing Napoleon's system. Hence the first and ground of quarrel between the brothers.

I know not if Napoleon held in the motives which Louis had alleged, on first refusing the crown of Holland, namely, wintry climate of country, whether the Emperor counted upon explicit devotion in one of his other brothers; but

is, that Joseph was not called to the throne of Spain, till after it had been offered to, and declined, by the King of Holland. The following is the letter which Napoleon wrote to Louis on the occasion, a copy of which got into my possession: it is without date or place, but, from the contents, must be referred to April, 1808:—

"My Brother,—The King of Spain, Charles IV, has just abdicated. The Spanish nation have loudly appealed to me. Certain that I have solid peace with England, unless by impressing one grand movement on the Continent, I have resolved to place a French prince upon the throne of Spain. The climate of Holland does not agree with you; besides, Holland will never emerge from her ruins. In the whirlwind of the world, whether there be peace or not, she possesses no means by which to maintain herself. In this situation of things, I think of you for the crown of Spain. Answer me categorically, what is your opinion of this plan? If I name you king of Spain, do you accept? Can I count upon you? Answer me, in the first instance, only these two questions thus: 'I have received your letter of such date; I reply, *yes*;' then I shall conclude that you will do as I desire: or, the contrary, '*no*;' which will imply that you do not agree to my proposition. Admit me into your confidence, and speak, I request of you, to none whomsoever, on the subject of my letter; for nothing ought to be done before we have even thought of it.

NAPOLEON."

Before the seizure of Holland, Napoleon had the design of dismembering Brabant and Zealand, in exchange for other provinces, possession of which was more dubious. Louis, however, successfully resisted his first aggression; for Napoleon, then deeply engaged with Spain, cared not for a

commotion in the north. He even affected indifference, as appears from the following letter to Louis on the subject:—

" My Brother,—I received your letter relative to the one written by the Sieur de la Rochefoucauld. ■■■ not authorized to do any thing, except indirectly. Since the exchange displeases you, ■■■ be thought of. ■■■ was useless ■■■ a display of principles, since I never said that you ought not ■■■ consult ■■■ nation. Many well ■■■ men among your own subjects had expressed ■■■ opinion that it would be indifferent to Holland to give up Brabant, crowded as it is with fortresses, which are very chargeable, and having ■■■ affinity to France than Holland, in exchange for provinces in the north, rich and convenient for you. Once more, since that arrangement does not suit, there is an end of the ■■■ It was needless even to speak to me on the subject, since the Sieur de ■■■ Rochefoucauld had no directions to do more than feel the way."

Though displeasure evidently appears in the ■■■ of this assumed condescension, the tone of the above letter is singularly moderate, and ■■■ conciliating, when compared with others which I shall place before the reader. True, the letter was written before the interview at Erfurth; but afterwards, when Joseph ■■■ been acknowledged, and he himself ■■■ struck a dazling blow in the Peninsula, he greatly changed ■■■ tone to Louis, yet without coming to extremities. ■■■ long letter, of the 20th December, 1808, written from ■■■ Trianon, he ■■■ with these conditions, upon which he would allow ■■■ exist ■■■ the right ■■■ of the Rhine:—" 1. The interdiction of all trade, and ■■■ communication ■■■ England. ■■■

* French ambassador in Holland.

A fleet to be supplied to France of fourteen sail of line, seven frigates, seven brigs or corvettes, armed and equipped. 3. A army, also, supplied, of twenty-five thousand. 4. The suppression of the marshals. 5. The revocation of all the privileges of the nobility, inconsistent with the constitution, promulgated and guaranteed. Upon these, as a basis," continues Napoleon to his brother, "your majesty may treat with the Duke of Cadore, through your minister; you may be assured, that, the entrance of the first packet-boat into Holland, I re-establish my customhouses; that, upon the first insult offered my flag, I will seized, by force of arms, and hung the yard-arm, the officer of Holland who shall have permitted the insult to my eagle. Your majesty will find in me a brother, if I find in you a Frenchman; but, you forget the sentiments which bind you to our country, you will not take it ill if I forget those which has placed between. In conclusion, the union of to France is that which is most useful to France,—to Holland,—to the Continent; for it is that which is injurious England. This union may be effected either by or by force; for I have grounds of complaint against Holland sufficient for declaring. But, all times, I have difficulty in agreeing an arrangement which yields the boundary of the Rhine, and by which Holland engages full the above conditions. Your affectionate brother.

"NAPOLEON."

The correspondence of two brothers rested in this for time; but Louis not less exposed vexations on part of Napoleon. latter having called to Paris, 1809, the kings who might justly be styled sendatories of the empire, Louis also cited; but, caring little leave his

states, he convoked and consulted [redacted] council, who [redacted] sacrifice necessary to Holland, and [redacted] king acquiesced; for, upon the throne, the life [redacted] Louis was a daily sacrifice. At [redacted] [redacted] lived very retired, [redacted] for the police; for, as [redacted] come unwillingly, it was believed [redacted] would not prolong his stay [redacted] such a period [redacted] Napoleon wished. In this opinion [redacted] persecutors were not deceived; but every attempt [redacted] compromise [redacted]. The surveillance, circumventions, and indignity, to which [redacted] thus exposed, roused [redacted] spirit [redacted] strength of character [redacted] which he [redacted] not received credit. Amid the silence of [redacted] royal fellows in slavery, the voice of Louis was heard [redacted] say to the Emperor, in presence of all, "I have been deceived by promises [redacted] intended to be fulfilled; Holland is weary of being the puppet of France." The imperial ears, little accustomed to such sounds, [redacted] fearfully shocked; and, thenceforth, there remained no choice between yielding implicitly to the demands of Napoleon, or seeing Holland united to France. Louis chose [redacted] latter, though not till he had essayed his feeble opposition to the utmost, in favour of the subjects confided to his care; but he refused [redacted] be [redacted] accomplice in sacrificing them to a blind hatred of England. Louis, however, received permission [redacted] return to his kingdom, but only to behold the misery of a commercial and industrious country without [redacted] [redacted] employment. Once [redacted] he wrote to his brother, on the [redacted] March, 1810, to [redacted] following effect:—

"[redacted] you would consolidate France in her actual situation, and obtain a maritime peace, it [redacted] not by means such [redacted] [redacted] blockade that you will attain these ends; it is not by the destruction of a kingdom created by yourself; it [redacted] not by enfeebling your allies, [redacted] by respecting neither their most sacred rights, [redacted] the commercial principles [redacted] equality and justice

nations; but, on the contrary, by causing France to be beloved, by strengthening and protecting allies so near your own brothers. The destruction of Holland, far from being a means of diminishing England, will prove a source of prosperity to her, by the industry and all the wealth which will seek an asylum in that country. There are only three means of really attacking England,—detaching her, capturing her Indian possessions, or by a descent. The two last, though the most effectual, are impossible without a navy, but I am astonished that the first has been so easily abandoned. These present a more advantageous means of securing peace, and on advantageous conditions, than a system which does injury to yourself and your allies, in an attempt to do greater hurt on your enemy.

LOUIS."

But written, were become disagreeable as spoken, [redacted]. This letter had, in fact, given sovereign displeasure; [redacted] the Emperor replied, two months afterwards, from Ostend, where he had stopped during one of his frequent progresses, in the following terms,—models of cruelty and abuse of power!—

"My Brother,—In our present situation [redacted] best always to speak out frankly. I know your [redacted] dispositions, and whatever you may [redacted] the contrary goes for nothing. [redacted] in a troublesome situation, [redacted] is true. I [redacted] you desire to extricate yourself. It is not I who can do any thing, [redacted] you—you alone. When you conduct yourself in such a manner as to persuade the Dutch that you [redacted] by my instigation—that all your [redacted] conformable [redacted] then will you [redacted] beloved—then you will [redacted] esteemed, and acquire [redacted] consistency necessary to reconstitute Holland. When

to be the friend of France and mine shall be a title grateful to your heart, Holland, universally will find herself in a natural situation. ~~What~~ your return from Paris you have done nothing towards this. ~~What~~ be the result of your conduct? Your subjects, finding themselves vacillating between France and England, will throw themselves into the arms of France, and demand with loud cries a union, as the only refuge against so ~~great~~ uncertainty. ~~What~~ your knowledge of my character, which is, to ~~be~~ straight to ~~the~~ object, without being stopped by any consideration, has ~~not~~ enlightened you,—what ~~will~~ you have me to do? I can dispense with Holland; but Holland ~~cannot~~ dispense with my protection. If, committed ~~to~~ ~~me~~ of my own brothers, dependant upon ~~me~~ alone for her security, she finds not in that brother my image, you destroy ~~her~~ her confidence in your administration,—you break your sceptre with your ~~own~~ hands. Love France—love my glory! these ~~are~~ ~~the~~ exclusive ~~rights~~ by which you ~~are~~ be of service ~~to~~ the kingdom of Holland. Holland, become a portion of my kingdom—had you been what you ought to have been—would become so much the more dear to me, that I had given to her a prince who ~~was~~ almost my ~~son~~. ~~What~~ placing you upon the throne of Holland, I ~~had~~ thought to have seated thereon a citizen of France. You have pursued a ~~course~~ diametrically opposite. I have ~~made~~ myself forced ~~to~~ interdict you from France, and ~~to~~ ~~take~~ part of your territories. When you shew yourself a bad Frenchman to the Dutch, you become less than a Prince of Orange, to whom they owe ~~their~~ national rank, ~~and~~ a long succession of prosperity ~~and~~ glory. ~~It~~ is proved ~~to~~ Holland that your ~~secession~~ sion from France ~~is~~ ~~to~~ to her what she would ~~have~~ have had under Schimmelpenninck, nor ~~will~~ a Prince of ~~Orange~~ go. ~~What~~ once a Frenchman ~~and~~ brother of ~~the~~ Emperor, and be assured that you

MEMOIRS OF

then in way the interests of die cast—you incorrigible; already you chase from your presence the few Frenchmen who you. Neither counsel, advice, affection—but menace and force—can you. What mean those prayers those mysterious which you order? Louis! you seem to have no desire to reign long; all your actions—even more plainly your confidential letters—manifest sentiments of your mind. Return from your be truly a Frenchman heart, or your people will expel you; and you will leave Holland an object of derision—of the derision of Dutchmen. It is by reason and policy, by a bitter and vitiated temper, that governed.

" NAPOLEON."

Scarcely had this letter been received by Louis, when Napoleon informed of a menial brawl, to which the Sieur de la Rochefoucauld, doubtless that he should his master agreeably by affording a pretence for an outbreking, wished to give importance quite diplomatic. Verily, according to his statement, the honour of his had been compromised by an insult from a citizen of Amsterdam. This provocation grating harshly upon the dignified suscep of the of livery, they demanded *satisfaction*! Upon this a scuffle ensued, which might have become serious, since it began to the character of a dispute between the Dutch and French, when guard of the palace put end to the fray. On the report of ambassador, which reached the Emperor three days after the last missive been despatched his brother, Napoleon fulminated Lille, where he then was, the following letter— about Count de Rochefoucauld's coacher! The illustrious author of *Maxims*, himself, could have displayed more severe indignation when he declared war upon kings.

" My Brother,—At the [] when you make me the fairest protestations, I learn that my ambassador's people have been maltreated in Amsterdam. My intention is, that those who have rendered themselves so culpable towards me, [] delivered up, in order that the vengeance which [] overtake them may serve [] example. The Sieur Serrurier has tendered [] account of the [] in which you conducted yourself at the diplomatic audience. I declare to you, therefore, I will [] longer that [] ambassador from [] be [] Paris; Admiral Verhuell has orders to depart in twenty-four hours. I want no more phrases [] protestations; time [] I should know whether you intend being the misfortune of Holland, and, by your folly, to cause the ruin of that country. It is my pleasure, also, that you send no [] any ambassador to Austria. I will, likewise, [] you send [] Frenchmen who are in your service. I have recalled my ambassador; I shall [] longer have any, [] a charge d'affaires in Holland. The Sieur Serrurier, who [] there in that capacity, will make known to you my intentions. I do [] wish to expose an ambassador to your insults. Write no more of your usual periods; for three years, now, you have condescended them over, and every instant proves their hollowness.

" This is the last letter I shall ever write to you.

" NAPOLEON "

Reduced, thus, to the last extremity, placed between the cruel necessity of running Holland by his [] act, [] of leaving her [] the [] the Emperor, Louis did not hesitate; [] resolved [] lay down [] sceptre whose rule [] was not permitted him to render paternal. This determination taken, he addressed a message to the Legislative Assembly, setting forth the too legitimate grounds of his abdication. What, [] fact, could be [] more lawful motive than [] invasion

of a country united to France, by a compact termed a family alliance? But there was nothing then with-
 Napoleon in the career of his despotism. Under the [] of the [] of Reggio, [] king [] [] king himself, [] French troops had invaded [] country, and threatened [] Amsterdam, [] capital. Louis descended from his throne. "Long have I foreseen," [] king, in [] to the legislature, "the extremity [] which I am reduced; but I could not avoid the evil, without a betrayal of my most sacred obligations, and sacrificing those rights which ought indissolubly to unite my [] that of Holland." Louis subsequently promulgated his [] of abdication. [] he [] founded upon the unfortunate situation of the kingdom, which he attributed to the hostile intentions of his brother, whom no efforts of his, no sacrifices consistent with the welfare of the country, had been [] to mitigate; in fine, that he [] been [] to regard himself as the cause of the misunderstandings continually renewed between France and Holland. But that, though he should deem it a consolation to think [] individual renouncement of honour [] been productive of good [] subjects, he renounced his rights only in favour of [] sons, the Prince Royal, Louis Napoleon, [] his brother, Prince Louis Charles Napoleon; her majesty the queen being regent by the constitution; meanwhile, [] the regency [] confided [] the privy council.

[] to [] really worthy of remark. Louis, [] renouncing the [] of Holland, believed he [] power of doing [] in favour of his children. Four years after, Napoleon [] himself he could abdicate the throne of France in favour of his [] the [] king of Rome. [] if, [] the history of Napoleon, [] examine coincidences, how often [] we [] him, [] the mightiness of his [] by precisely the same blows as [] leveled against others in the greatness of his power!

After having taken _____ of his subjects, in a proclamation, Louis _____ at Toplitz, in Bohemia. He was here living in seclusion and tranquillity, when he learned that _____ brother, far from respecting the conditions of his abdication, had united Holland _____ the _____. Upon this _____ published a protest, a copy of which I procured, though _____ circulation _____ strictly prohibited by the police. After a preamble, setting forth his grievances, he declared, "before God and all independent sovereigns,—1 That the treaty, separating Zealand and Brabant from Holland, _____ accepted only provisionally, and by force, _____ Paris, where he was detained against his will, and _____ stipulations of which treaty had _____ been _____ on the Emperor's part. 2 That his abdication had taken place only at the _____ extremity, and in _____ consequence of the violent measures resorted to against him. 3 He protested against the _____ _____ Holland, as a department, to the empire, _____ illegal, unjust, and arbitrary, both before God and man, that kingdom belonging, in right, to _____ nation, and the king, still a minor."

With this protest, dated August 1, 1810, and sealed with the seal of state, seemed to finish the _____ correspondence _____ the two relatives. _____ Napoleon, enraged against his brother, summoned Louis _____ return _____ constable of France, and _____ French prince Louis deemed _____ expedient _____ refuse the summons, when Napoleon, faithful _____ his word, never again to write to him brother, ordered _____ Otto, his _____ ambassador at Vienna, to address the ex-king _____ follow:—

"Sire,—The Emperor orders _____ to write to your Majesty _____ these terms.—The duty _____ French prince, and of every member of the imperial family, is _____ reside _____ France, and such cannot absent himself without permission from _____ Emperor. After the union of Holland with the empire, the Emperor

the king's residence at Tesplitz, in Bohemia. appeared the waters necessary; but now the Emperor gives it to be understood, that Prince Louis, as a French prince, and as a dignitary of the empire, return, at latest, by the 1st Decem-ber next, under pain of being pronounced disobedient institutions of the empire, and the head of family, and treated accordingly. OTTO."

What a letter to be addressed, by a subject, to a prince who had been a king! When I had occasion afterwards to see Otto, knowing my affection for Louis, he assured me, that above letter given him much pain, and contained the words dictated by Napoleon in his resentment. I may speak hereafter of Louis, and especially of Hortense, but with the king and queen of have done.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX TO VOLUME III

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THE reader may find it convenient to have a hand a succinct account of the most celebrated of these Marshals, up to the time when each becomes identified with the fortunes and history of Napoleon, and, consequently, with the text of these *Memoirs*.

Berthier, (*Alexander*), was born at Versailles, Nov. 20, 1753. His father, surveyor of ~~the~~ and harbour of the King of France, gave his son that practical education in mathematics, surveying, and drawing, which afterwards conduced so essentially to his fame and usefulness as Bonaparte's major general. Refusing a situation in the hydrographic office, where, under his father, he had given great satisfaction to government, young Berthier obtained a commission in the dragoons, and, with his regiment, served first in America, it is said, with ~~some~~ distinction, in the war of the colonies. The years from 1763 to 1789, Berthier, ~~was~~ colonel, passed at home in the study chiefly of his profession. On the breaking out of the Revolution, he held a ~~commission~~ and for his benefactor, Louis XVI., in the national guards of Versailles. So long as these troops continued faithful, so was he, but, finally embracing ~~the~~ of the republic, he made five campaigns, chiefly on the German frontier. In these, he had ~~many~~ subordinate

commands with credit, but was still comparatively obscure among the republican officers, when, on the opening of the brilliant campaign of 1796, Bonaparte made him his chief of [redacted] Bourrienne tells the rest, [redacted] Napoleon, at [redacted] Helena, thus sums up his character—"As major-general, he had not his equal, though unfit to command five hundred men."—*Marshal, Duke of Neuchâtel, Prince of Wagram,*

Murat, (*Joachim*), the *preux chevalier* of the revolutionary Marshals, was a [redacted] of Guennoe, his birth-place being [redacted] village of Bastide-Frontonier, on the river Lot, in the departement of [redacted] name. Here, in his father's village inn, he [redacted] born, March 26, 1767. In early life his friends destined him for [redacted] church, and [redacted] him [redacted] study in [redacted] Jesuits' College at Cahors. This choice [redacted] a profession, so opposed [redacted] the daring spirit of the youth, appears to have been determined by the circumstance of the father having formerly been steward in the family of the Talleyrands, and consequently enjoying their patronage. [redacted] views, [redacted] might very naturally have been expected, came to nothing. The [redacted] Abbe Murat left [redacted] college clandestinely, with a pretty maiden of the neighbourhood, having first silenced a rival in a duel, and made for Toulouse. Here, keeping [redacted] [redacted] money lasted, he soon found himself without resources, and entered [redacted] private into a regiment of chasseurs, which happened [redacted] march through [redacted] It does not appear, however, that the report of his dismissal from this corps rests on good authority. The assertion, too, is opposed by the fact of our finding him, immediately after his alleged disgrace, in Paris, one of the royal constitutional guards. His removal to the capital took place, when men's minds, in a state of incipient convulsion, had already begun to be more than unsettled in every principle, moral and political, which sanctifies and secures the social compact. Murat became the eager apostle and supporter of liberty and equality doctrines; for, though both his profession and the chivalrous romance of his character ought to have led him to [redacted] [redacted] right and the respectable, he [redacted] probably foresight sufficient to perceive that he might find his account in confusion. So zealous, in fact, were his exertions in propagating the new politics, that, whom [redacted]

convince, he fought, and is reported thus to have settled matters in six different duels in one month. His conduct was admirably calculated for the meridian of those understandings who speedily became the judges of merit. The monarchy was overturned, the soldiers gained the right of electing their commanders, and Murat stood forth from the ranks. The splendid form and fine bearing of Major Murat first caught Bonaparte's eye on the eventful day of the Sections. He never failed to discern, in his own words, an instrument from an obstacle. Such spirits as were the cause of which he was already in search. He attached him to his fortunes, placed him on his personal staff, and took him to Italy. Henceforth, his history and Napoleon's were inseparable. — Marshal, Duke of Berg, (1806,) King of Naples, (1808.) Almost every quality of the hero, save the steady fortitude which exalts vaingloriousness into magnanimity, and bravery into courage, weak, but not dejected, Murat, by the romantic incidents of his life, and its melancholy close, claims softer remembrances than any other of these "children of the Republic."

Jourdan, (Jean Baptiste,) surnamed "The Anvil," from his capacity of enduring beatings, in the number of which he carries away the palm from all his brother Marshals, was born at Lamoges, 1762. At sixteen he entered the army, and served first in America. After twelve years' soldiering, we find him colonel in 1791, and actively employed in the republican army of the north under Danton. From this period to that of Bonaparte's ascendancy, he appeared constantly in the field, as general, general of division, and, finally, commander-in-chief of the army of the Sambre and Meuse. In these different situations, he served, with considerable reputation, chiefly in Belgium and on the German frontier, where, however, he was defeated by the Archduke Charles, in the Battle of Ratisbon, in 1799, while Napoleon was in Egypt. Jourdan, then, at least, was, in principle, a stern republican, and, consequently, lent his assistance to Bonaparte in the counter-revolution of Brumaire. Indeed, it was Jourdan who proposed, in the Council of Five Hundred, the

resolution, "The country is in danger." He was in comparative neglect, "time, the great mediator," his way to the governorship of Piedmont, the council of state, and, finally to the throne, with which Vittoria, with which soldiers are reported to have been fondly playing single-stick. His character is given, "a poor general," by the master; "but," others add, "an honest man" the latter proposition, in one or two instances,—as in Naples and Spain,—is questionable.

Massena, (André,) a native of Nice, born in May, 1758, among the most illustrious of the Marshals, and, perhaps, the ablest of the revolutionary generals, next to Bonaparte and Moreau, rose from the ranks of the army, and from the most destitute of civil life. In infancy, he was left an orphan, and, from mere passion, taken in a coasting vessel, commanded by one of his mother's relatives. Disliking a seafaring life, he enlisted as a private soldier, and, for his good behaviour, received his promotion to the grade of corporal before he had been long in the service. In the course of years, he had reached through the rank of sergeant to that of adjutant, which latter is not, with us, an appointment, honourable in itself, and leading to honour; that, unable to obtain a promotion from the cause explained by Bourrienne,—that under the old regime, while belonging to the privileged classes might be officers though no soldiers, the soldier could seldom, if ever, become an officer,—he retired from the army at the age of thirty-one. But the Revolution roused him to arms, and, being elected to rank by his fellow-soldiers, he rapidly attained to command. In 1793, we find him general of division. In capacity, he shared the triumphs of the Italian campaigns, as described in the preceding pages. Massena remained in Europe during the Egyptian campaign, occupied chiefly on the German frontier. At this period of disaster, Massena participated in the lot of defeat, when opposed to the combined army of Austria and Russia, under the Archduke Charles and Suvoroff. The victory of Zurich, however, which he gained over the more numerous, reflected his laurels, and

is deservedly extolled by Bourrienne; for ■ probably saved France from an invasion. On the return of Bonaparte, Massena powerfully aided his operations in Italy; "Massena commands there," ■ his remark with regard to Genoa; but subsequently, as the reader will have perceived, this general appears but seldom in the transactions ■ the consulate. He was a republican. The ■ of Marshal, on the foundation of the empire, banished ■ content; and thenceforth Massena is ■ive in most of the warlike enterprizes of Napoleon. — Duke of Rivoli, 1807; Prince of Essling, 1809.

Augereau, (*Pierre François Charles*,) the ■ of a cabbage-vender, was born in an outskirt of Paris, November, 1757. He entered the army very early; but ■ the ■ of thirty, we find him no higher than at first — a private soldier in the Neapolitan infantry. Tired of ■ unpromising a trade, he settled in Naples ■ "professor of the honourable science of self-defence:" and, as a fencing-master, the future Marshal-Duke might have lived and died, but for the edict of 1792, which obliged ■ Frenchmen ■ quit the Neapolitan territories. Augereau returned to France — home he had none. ■ sagacity told him the ■ of his country, and the chances of the fearless and ■ daring. At the age of thirty-five, he commenced life anew as a common soldier, and, in four years more, ■ general of division. This rise, unexampled ■ in the annals of revolutionary dignities, ■ owed ■ great energy, ■ talent, ■ principle, ■ a bravery which amounted to absolute ferocity. As general of division, Augereau attended Bonaparte in the Italian campaigns, and most highly distinguished himself on every occasion. The reader is admirably instructed by Bourrienne in the part he acted at Paris in 1797; but on that occasion, "■ thick-headed soldier" had nearly outplayed ■ the Directory and his employer. His actions on this occasion procured him the *sobriquet*, or nickname, by which he was most generally known, — "the Fructidor general." During the Egyptian expedition, Augereau commanded in chief the army of the ■ Moselle, an honourable but inactive post, conferred by the Directory, ■ order to get rid of him. But, in 1799, he resigned

this command, and took his place in the Council of Five Hundred. On Bonaparte's desertion of his eastern army, and arrival in France, Angereau seconded Jourdan's motion in the Assembly, which, had it been seconded by the Directory without, would have ended in the arrest, and probably execution, of ■■■ future Emperor. But the genius of the latter prevailed, Angereau timely made his peace—while things were yet undetermined—and retained the favour thus repurchased—Marshal, Duke of Castiglione, a soldier of indomitable valour, but one of the greatest ruffians of a period fertile in villains.

Bernadotte, (*Jean Baptiste Jubeu*,) the only permanent monarch created by the Revolution, ■■■ almost the sole great actor in its events who is unstained by its crimes, was born at Pau, the capital of Berne, 26th January, 1764. His family, though humble, was NOT ■ the very lowest class of society, and young Bernadotte received a good education. He is said to have been intended for the law, and ■■■ ■ have been engaged ■ the university studies of the profession, when, at the age of sixteen, he insisted as a private into the services, or rather what with us are termed fencibles. After nine years' service, the future King of Sweden, at the age of twenty-five, had attained the rank of sergeant. This first step in his fortune he owed to the same qualities of prudence and steady resolution, which, in a wider sphere of action, conducted him to a throne. The Revolution opened a lottery in life, where wealth could purchase only the blanks, and where the prizes, though too generally shared by the worthless and the dissolute, were also to be won by honourable enterprise. Bernadotte aspired to the latter class of favours, and was successful. In two years he had attained the rank of colonel in the army of General Custines. In 1793, Kleber, under whom he then served, and than whom none could be a better judge of military merit, promoted him to the rank of general of brigade. In the various campaigns on the Rhine, ■■■ in Italy, he commanded with distinguished success as general of division. As Bonnierne has well remarked, "there seemed to exist from the beginning a natural distrust between Bernadotte and Napoleon." Bonaparte,

indeed, more than any other man of whom we read, possessed a degree of instinct in discriminating those whom he was to fear, from those whom he could use as his tools. On the peace of Campo-Formio, Bernadotte, as we learn from the text, was despatched to Paris, as one of the friends of the Fructidor Revolution. He was prudent, that is, compromised himself for nothing. He subsequently refused a command in the army of invasion, and was not offered one in that of Egypt. During Bonaparte's expedition, he was employed by the Directory, first in the command of the army of observation on the Rhine, and afterwards as minister of war. In both capacities, especially as minister, he rendered eminent services, and raised himself to once popular and respected. The reader will find in these volumes an admirable and very graphic account of Bernadotte's conduct and relations with Bonaparte on his return, and of the coldness which prevailed between them. There can be little doubt, had the Directory acted with vigour, and intrusted Bernadotte with the command of the troops, that the day of Brumaire would have been prevented, and Bonaparte probably would have then finished his career on a scaffold. But would this have been fortunate for France? Bourrienne says no. His volumes give other necessary information concerning Bernadotte, with whom, in the sequel, he had much correspondence, and by whom he was much esteemed.—Marshal, Prince of Ponte-Corvo, 1806, Crown Prince, 1810, King of Sweden, 1818. Of all "the children of the Republic," none excepting Napoleon himself, were more devoted to have been more ambitious than Bernadotte. But he really loved his country, he had no "national pride," he had principle, he has always exercised a cool deliberative judgment, which was of the children of impulse and of passion wanted.

Soult, (Jean-de-Dieu, — singular prenomine,) was of respectable, though humble parentage, at Aurant, capital of the departement of Tarn, in Languedoc, 29th March, 1769. He first entered the service, at an early age, as private in the royal artillery, but, after a length of time, obtained a commission as sub-lieutenant. In

first republican campaigns on the eastern frontier, Soult greatly distinguished himself, first under Hoche, and afterwards under Jourdan, considering he had then attained only the rank of colonel and *ad-à-camp*, and subsequently, as adjutant to General Lefebvre, he gained great praise for his conduct in the battle of Fleurus. In 1794 he was made general of brigade, and, four years later, general of division. Soult was still personally unknown to him of whose future fortunes he was to become one of the chief supports, he fought constantly on the Rhine or the Moselle, while Italy, Austria, and Egypt had been the scenes of Napoleon's early glory. But, on the formation of the Consular Government, Soult, at the recommendation, it is said, of Massena, received the command of the *chasseurs* of the guard, and ever afterwards enjoyed the highest confidence of his master. If military renown were to be awarded exclusively to military genius, not one of the Marshals would surpass Soult in fame, but, from having never mingled in politics, his name occurs less frequently than that of others, his inferiors. "As for you, Marshal Soult, act as you always do," was the only order given by Napoleon, and, to him who received it, one of the most honourable ever dictated on a trying occasion. — Marshal, Duke of Dalmatia.

Lannes, (Jean), was the son of a poor mechanic in Lectroune, in Normandy, born April, 1769. He enlisted very early in life, having absconded when about to be bound an apprentice to some humble calling. On the breaking out of the Revolution, his corps was on the Pyrenean frontier, his resolute character and fine soldierly bearing, having already gained an ascendancy among his comrades, he was elected an officer. In 1795, he had attained the rank of chief of brigade, in which capacity he served under General Lefebvre, but was broke by the Convention, and returned to Paris without employment. One of his fearless character was not likely to escape the notice of Bonaparte, from whose account of the battle of the *Pyrenees* we learn that Lannes was there employed. Bonaparte, in fact, looked most to those men who, undaunted in action, successfully execute orders, while they allowed him to think for them. Lannes was a man to his own heart,

and, till the death of the Marshal, they were never separated, except during the short interval of the mission to Portugal, so graphically described by Bourrienne. "I found Lannes a dwarf," says Napoleon, at St Helena; "I made him a giant." Lannes, in fact, entered the army of Italy as a volunteer, having no rank; but his sword gained him his dukedom of Montebello.

Ney, (Michael,) *Indefatigable*, of the *Brave*, was the son of a poor labourer, or tradesman, in the little town of Sarre Louis, beyond the present frontier of Lorraine, where he first saw the light, in January, 1769. Young Michael was articled to a notary; but the *collet* of a country scrivener afforded no fitting occupation for one of his mettle; and, when little more than thirteen, he ran away to enlist as a private buissar. He was now "placed to his liking," and his conduct soon proved that he had well chosen his profession. A private, in ordinary circumstances, can have but small chance of distinction; but, in four great battles, and many skirmishes, Ney had displayed such uncommon daring and presence of mind, that he easily broke through the conventional separations of rank, at a time when these had already begun to totter. In 1794, we find him a captain; but he had fought his way through the subordinate ranks, not sprung up an officer at once, by election. In the same year, he became colonel, and was placed by Kleber over a body of irregular troops, known in the early revolutionary wars by the appellation of partizans. They received no pay; but, like our own Highlanders, *list*ed what pleased them, and, for this privilege, undertook every perilous and daring enterprize on which they might be commanded. In 1798, Ney was general of division; and, the following year, his capture of Mannheim, with 150 followers, whom he had himself selected, and whom he led to a night attack, after having, in disguise of a German peasant, traversed and surveyed the whole place, exhibits one of the boldest adventures of that adventurous period. Having been constantly on the opposite frontier, taking no part in political intrigue at Paris, Ney had little correspondence with Napoleon till the consulate. Subsequently their destinies were but inseparable. —

APPENDIX.

Marshal, Duke of Eichingen, Prince of Moskwa, Peer of France, and, to use his own words, greater than all, "Michael Ney, a French soldier." Born on the confines of France and Germany,—for his native district, between the Sarre and the present boundary, has belonged alternately to both,—Ney mingled the characters of the two countries in his own, and, in many respects, retained the best of each. The deep, [redacted] enthusiasm [redacted] the German, [redacted] united with the active and chivalrous daring [redacted] the soldier of France. Personally [redacted] was unstained by the rapacity and violence which too frequently marked the path of his warfare, but his character in civil life was singularly deficient in the dignified firmness that restrains unprincipled followers.

Davoust, (Louis Nichol,) was born of a noble family, at Annau, in Burgundy, May, 1770. Such a parentage—which implies, on the Continent, that the person so descended may, like his ancestors, do any thing but gain a livelihood by honest industry—almost of necessity destined him for the army, and entitled him, however undeserving otherwise, to [redacted] the honours of the profession. As a proof of this, Davoust entered an officer as a matter of right, but was speedily forced [redacted] leave his regiment in disgrace, for insubordination. The Revolution opportunely came to aid one who had thus every thing to hope from change. He received, from the Convention, a command as chief of battalion, and joined the army of the north, under Dumouriez. On the defection of [redacted] leader, Davoust was promoted to be a general of brigade. For five years, he served in this capacity, on the Rhine and the Moselle, where his conduct must have been conspicuous, since he was selected to accompany the Egyptian expedition. Bourrienne tells the rest, who, as we shall [redacted] had rather close relations with [redacted] terrible Davoust,—for this title his own acts had procured him, while his master had conferred those of Marshal, Duke of Auerstadt, and Prince of Eckmühl. An excellent soldier—a most unprincipled man.

Bessières, (Jean Baptiste,) born August, 1768, at Prensac, a town in the departement of Lot, and consequently the countryman of Murat, was of mean parentage. [redacted]

■ ■ ■ ■ ■ travelled up to Paris in company, on ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ obtaining, at the same time, appointments in the Constitutional Guard of Louis XVI. In this situation, the former did not imitate the republican zeal of his ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ companion—he conducted himself with great propriety, and, being a private ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ guard, on ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ fearful ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ of August—as Bourrienne justly denounces that day of blood—he ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ the courage, humanity, and good fortune, ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ save several individuals of the royal household. ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ joined the republican forces, however, when all had become so, and, while serving in a cavalry regiment, in the north of Spain, and on the Pyrenean frontier, rose from the ranks to a captaincy. As major of brigade, Bessieres joined the army of Italy, where his cool and determined bravery caught the eye of the young commander-in-chief, who ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ placed him over the corps of Guides. To great energy Bessieres united unsullied honour and humanity, and his success ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ at least equal to that of any of the imperial captains. None wore ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ title with more honour than did Bessieres that of Duke of Istria.

Such are the principal characters among the eighteen senior Marshals, or as they were termed, by way of pre-eminence, “ Marshals of the Creation.” The reader will find sketches of the lives of the other chiefs, in the ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ and Appendix to Volume IV.

NOTE B. PAGE 202

■ ■ ■ ■ ■ has been generally, but erroneously, represented in this country, that there were two Berlin Decrees, or at least two decrees passing under that name, one of 1806, the other dated Hamburg, 1807. Napoleon was never in Hamburg. The real Berlin Decree, on which the Continental System was founded, and continued to be regulated, is dated,—“ Imperial camp of Berlin, 21st November, 1806,” and consists of two distinct parts. In the first portion are enumerated the reasons, founded on the conduct of England, for instituting the decree. These complaints, far as such they are set forth, amount

to ten, which, however, turn upon only three points — England refusing to regulate maritime by the laws of land warfare; her not acknowledging the distinction of private property, or the rights of foreigners not actually serving in war; and, thirdly, her declaration of blockade extended to places not actually blockaded by her ships. Then follow the regulations of the decree, in eleven separate articles — 1. The British Isles declared to be in a state of blockade. 2. All commerce with them prohibited. 3. All English subjects found in countries occupied by French troops to be prisoners of war. 4 and 5. All English goods and manufactures lawful prize. 6. Half the proceeds of confiscation to go to merchants who have lost ships by the English cruisers. 7. No vessel from England, or her colonies, to be admitted into a continental port. 8. Every vessel contravening regulation 7th, to be lawful prize. 9. Two prize courts,—at Paris for the empire, at Milan for Italy. 10 and 11. Touching the promulgation and execution of the decree.

NOTE C. PAGE 237.

The reader may find it convenient to have ready access to the names and titles of the chief civil officers of the Consulate and Empire.

Talleyrand, (*Charles Maurice de Périgord*), the Napoleon of the political world, was born at Paris, March 17, 1754, and, unlike the majority of the great actors in the revolutionary scenes, claims a truly noble origin. For the church, he attained the rank of Abbe, and, in his twenty-sixth year, was nominated agent-general of the clergy. In this situation he shewed great talents, but no Christianity; the former, however, joined to political interest, were then all powerful, and he subsequently became bishop of Autun at the age of thirty-three, though the King himself opposed his consecration. In 1789, on the sitting of the States General, he distinguished himself as deputy from the clergy of his diocese, in opposition to the exclusive privileges of the order to which he

belonged. Subsequently, ■ abdicated his bishopric, ■ resign himself wholly to politics. In 1792, he was sent on a secret mission to England, but, feared by all parties, judged ■ expedient to ■ ■ United States, where ■ ■ nearly four years ■ 1796, ■ became minister for foreign affairs to the Directory, but, ■ feared, he again resigned, and, on the 18th Brumaire, ■ by his counsel ■ overturning a government which ■ ■ but despise. His history, subsequently, becomes a portion of the text, ■ the reader will remark, ■ the military chief of France succeeded just ■ propor- ■ ■ the suggestions of Talleyrand ■ civil ■ Of all the men of those troubled times, Talleyrand was in fact the only one who aspired to govern by public opinion, and who had the discernment to veer with, in order better to guide, this grand agent. As a public functionary, his acts have always been regulated on the principle of doing the most good to the greatest number. Prince of Benetuto, 1804, Vice-Grand-Elector, 1807, Prince de Talleyrand, 1814, Plenipotentiary in London of Louis Philippe, 1830!

Cambacérès, (Jean Jacques Régis,) born at Montpellier, October 18, 1755, of honourable but poor parentage, and entered very early in life the legal profession. In 1791, he became President of the Criminal Tribunal of the département, and here distinguished himself by his talents and impartiality. As member of the National Convention, in 1792, he first [redacted] but afterwards voted for [redacted] death of Louis XVI. [redacted] politics were conveniently yielding, and his moral principles lax, so that, [redacted] calmly through the intervening tempest, [redacted] became, from the force of [redacted] narrated [redacted] [redacted] firmly attached to the fortunes of Napoleon. *Second Consul, 1799, Prince of Parma, 1804, [redacted] Paris, [redacted]*

Lebrun, (Charles Francis), born at Sauveur Laudelin March 19, 1738, became early in a distinguished profession,—that of law, and obtained some advantageous offices under Louis XV. During the early part of the next reign, Lebrun retired to the country, and passed fifteen years in study and agricultural pursuits. In

the subsequent troubles, he took no part, save by the publication of an excellent and moderate work, *The Voice of a Citizen*. The *Voix* spoke wisdom, but advised temperate measures, and, consequently, was drowned in the uproar. Afterwards, however, its author came to be regarded as the origin of the moderate party, and hence, as mentioned in the text, was associated in the Consulate as *Third Consul*, 1799; *Duke of Mantua*, 1804; *Governor-General of Holland*, 1811; died, 1828. — Lebrun's translations of Tasso, and of the *Iliad*, the latter especially, are popular in France.

Caulaincourt, (*Arnaud Augustus Louis*), born in 1778, at a family seat of the same name, was of house [redacted] tion, and entered on a military life when young. In 1799, he was deprived of his rank of captain, and thrown into prison as an aristocrat. He obtained his freedom, however, serving as a private sentinel, under Hoche, and in the period of the Consulate had attained the rank of colonel. Bonaparte perceived his political talent, and, after raising [redacted] [redacted] be a general of division, and master of the horse, employed him chiefly in civil affairs. [redacted] *Memoirs* give the rest, and Bourrienne [redacted] done justice [redacted] [redacted] character, by clearing him of the death of the Duke d'Enghien. The friendship of the Emperor Alexander might, indeed, have secured him from [redacted] foul accusation, [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] credited before [redacted] [redacted] of these volumes. Josephine, too, [redacted] [redacted] her testimony to his entire ignorance of [redacted] contents of the despatches, of [redacted] [redacted] the bearer; and only when [redacted] reached Ettenheim [redacted] he discover their import to be the arrest [redacted] Duke. So closely was Caulaincourt watched, [redacted] he could not draw back. Still, such was his admiration of Napoleon, [redacted] he deemed him incapable of shedding blood, [redacted] when informed by himself, that the Duke had [redacted] shot, [redacted] fainted away. [redacted] scene occurred [redacted] private cabinet, where [redacted] Josephine [redacted] Berthier [redacted] present. On recovering, [redacted] severely reproached Bonaparte for having deceived him into [redacted] cruel a mission. [redacted] aide-de-camp also, [redacted] had accompanied [redacted] [redacted] Ettenheim, [redacted] distracted [redacted] hearing of the execution. — *Duke of Vicenza*, [redacted]

Fouché, (Joseph,) a native of Nantes, where ■ was born, May ■■■■■. His father, by his own account, intended him for the sea, and sent him, accordingly, ■ study mathematics ■ one of the seminaries of the Oratorio. Joseph's constitution, and his own inclination, disqualified ■■ for so boisterous a profession, and ■ became a lay-brother and teacher in the order. The reader may be spared ■ horror of his vote in the Convention, "Death, without repeal or delay, to Louis," of the drownings at Nantes, ■ of the massacres at Lyons, where ■ figured with such appalling notoriety ■ ■ ■ was prevented by his antipating Robespierre and, under the new Directory, ■ ■ length ■■■■■ the office which, under ■ Consulate and Empire, ■■■■■ ■ so intimately with the text. The reader is referred ■ his own *Mémoires*, with the caution to read Bourrienne at the same time. — *Duke of Otranto*, 1804, died in exile, at Trieste, 1820.

Savary, (Anne Jean ■■■■■ Rose,) was born in Mars, a village of Campagne, April 26, 1774. His father had ■■■■■ the ■■■■■ of ■■■■■ ■ he himself entered ■ army when young, served under Hoche, and as aide-de-■■■■ ■ General Desaix in ■ Egyptian expedition. How he entered the service of Bonaparte, after ■ battle of Marengo, and the subsequent ■■■■■ of his life, ■■ narrated by Bourrienne. With ■■ author ■ seems to have been ■ favourite, ■■■■■ ■ Bourrienne's ■■■■■ honesty and information ■■ are obliged to yield up many of ■■ prejudices which ■■ entertained ■■■■■ Savary. — *Duke of Rovigo* Living in retirement.

Marat, (Hugues Bernard,) born at Dijon, July ■■■■■ 1753, was the son of ■■ eminent physician and philosopher ■ that city. ■ early life he studied law, subsequently diplomacy, in which he ■■ occupied at Paris when ■ Revolution broke ■■■■■ ■ first distinguished himself as reporter in the *Monsieur* ■ the proceedings of ■ ■■■■■ General, and ■■ afterwards employed in several ■■■■■ ■■■■■ of these, ■ (Constantinople, being ■■■■■ prisoner by the Austrians, ■■■■■ nearly two years' confinement, during which he wrote two comedies and a tragedy, ■■■■■ released, in exchange for the Princess Royal Maria

Therese, now Duchesse d'Angoulême. On the formation of the government, he became Secretary to the Consuls, and afterwards Secretary of State, as a reward for assisting in the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire — *Duke of Bassano*

Champagny, (Jean Baptiste,) born August, 1756, at Roanne, served first in the marine. In 1789, he was elected to the States-General, as representative of the town of Forez, but, during the revolutionary troubles, enjoyed none of their good things, and was finally thrown into prison as a noble. Obtaining freedom, he lived retired until the security of the consular government called him again into public life — *Duke of Cadore* — lives in retirement

Clarke, (Henri-Jacques-Guillaume,) was of Irish extraction, but born in France, 1760. His father was a colonel in the French army, and educated his son for the same career. In 1788, we find Clarke general of division, but with no military reputation, and, soon after, he was imprisoned as a noble, a distinction which, in justice, he merited, since he pretended to be lineally descended from the Plantagenets. He was afterwards released, and, through the influence of Carnot, placed over the board of topography. He first appears in these *Mémoires* as a spy upon Bonaparte, in Italy. Clarke's talent, a most useful, though not a brilliant one, appears to have consisted in his facility of keeping well with all parties. His character is given, by the King of Prussia, in the present volume, and in Bourrienne's commentary thereon. The influence of Clarke with Bonaparte appears to have been a sentiment of gratitude in the latter for the very high praise bestowed by Clarke in his report to the Directory on the young General's conduct in Italy. This document afterwards fell into the hands of the first Consul.

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The following brief relation, brings up the history of Louis XVIII till 1807, when he found a last asylum in England, till March, 1814, the end of the first

Monseigneur Count de Provence, Louis XVIII, left Paris, June 21, 1791, and took up his abode first in Coblenz. His calm and prudent views were not calculated to render him popular among the emigrants of this period,—a class whom adversity could not teach prudence, nor prosperity sooth into moderation. After the campaign of 1792, the Count de Provence repaired to Italy, with the intention of passing over from Genoa to Toulon; but the first success of Bonaparte before the latter place, rendered abortive the hopes of the royalists. The brilliant achievements of the republican arms, soon rendered his abode in Turin, where he resided at the court of his father-in-law, dangerous alike to himself and his protector. With permission of Venice, the Count subsequently established himself in Verona. Here he learnt the death of his brother Louis XVI, but while the dauphin, infant son of the latter, was still alive, though a prisoner, he could not assume the title of King. Chased finally from Italy, the Count joined the army of Condé, refusing the proffers of Austria, which he had the discernment to see originated in hatred to France, and not in attachment to “the Bourbon.” It was his own saying, “I never wish the blood of France to flow in Germany for German interests, cloaked under my name.” The King of Prussia’s protection was accepted, and at Berlin the Count became Louis XVIII, through the death of the infant Louis XVII. Prussia was soon after obliged to yield to the storm, and dismisse from her states, “according to desire” of her Directory, after the 18th Fructidor, the rightful sovereign of France. Only one monarch in continental Europe—the King of Saxony was solicited in vain—possessed both the power and will to grant an asylum. This was Paul I. of Russia, who then luckily happened to think himself violently irritated at the government of France, and during the space of three years royally entertained Louis at Mittau. The influence of the First Consul, as described in the text, wrested from Louis this last retreat, who then sought a brief refuge at Calmar, in Sweden. Alexander again restored the residence at Mittau, which his father had refused but after the treaty of Tilint, Louis speedily discerned that the Continent was

closed against him, and [redacted] claimed and found protection in the only country then closed against the Continent,—[redacted]

To this it may be proper to add, [redacted] of the French family of [redacted] there are four divisions: 1. The family of Charles X, whose eldest son, the Duke d'Angoulême, married [redacted] cousin, the princess royal, only daughter of Louis XVI. They have no children, and, of course, before the late changes, were styled the Dauphin and Dauphiness. The Duke de Berry, the youngest son, [redacted] before [redacted] father's accession, left [redacted] son, on whom rest the hopes of this elder branch. 2. Family of Orleans, consisting of the present King, [redacted] eight children, by the daughter of the King of Naples, whom [redacted] married in [redacted]. At the breaking out of the Revolution, in 1789, his present majesty of France was Duke [redacted] Chartres, but on the execution of his father, famous [redacted] revolutionary history, under the title of *Egalité*, he became Duke of Orleans, in 1793. The family consists of five sons and [redacted] daughters: report speaks highly of their accomplishments and personal appearance. 3. Family of Condé, which at the beginning of the Consulate consisted of three generations; the Prince de Condé, grandfather; the Duke de Bourbon, father; [redacted] the Duke d'Enghien, [redacted] well known in these *Memoirs*, [redacted]. The Duke de Bourbon is still alive,* but refused to [redacted] the title of

* Since the [redacted] edition of these notes appeared, the third branch of the Bourbon line has become extinct by the death of "the Condé;" and of the first, the heads have been driven to seek an asylum in the ancient palace of the Scottish sovereigns. Of the revolution by which this has been accomplished, it can only be said at present that the "end is not yet come." Meanwhile, it is an example dangerous for the people, without being salutary to kings. It is a revolution of the capital, not of the country—the victory of a party, not the triumph of national sentiment. It has already been attended by the greatest injustice, through the punishment of men for an act against which the laws had provided no security, because they had pronounced no condemnation; consequently, which could be no crime, save by a succeeding, and therefore illegal construction. This is not said to defend that act; but if an enlightened nation [redacted] its reformation by injustice, what may be expected afterwards?

Condé. "I cannot," said the old man on the death of Duke d'Enghien, "I cannot become representative of a childless house of Condé; let the name, so long illustrious, be buried with my murdered son." 4. The family of Conti, connected several times with the noblest ancient houses in France and Italy.

END OF VOL. III.

MEMOIRS

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

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NAPOLEON[•] BONAPARTE.

FROM THE PROPERTY OF

MR. FAUVELET DE BOURGOGNE.

BY

WILLIAM S. WATSON, LL.D.

**HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF SCULPTURE, PAINTING, AND
ARCHITECTURE, &c.**

NEW EDITION.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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MEMOIRS OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

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METTERNICH—VIEWS OF SOULT ■■■■■
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 ■■■■■

THE empire of Bonaparte was based only upon his sword; and it seemed as if all Europe must rise in arms to second his gigantic ■■■■■. Contingents of troops were demanded from the German states, and this gave rise to an immense correspondence at ■■■■■. But, as it was impossible to satisfy his requisitions, notes and orders were consigned to the portfolio, and the troops remained in their country. ■■■■■ folly to look for resources in the North against the ■■■■■. ■■■ this time Metternich, since so well

known, had for more than a year filled [redacted] [redacted] of [redacted] envoy at Paris, and seconded, by grace in the drawing-room, his more profound [redacted] in [redacted] cabinet. His object was to encourage the resentful [redacted] spirit at home, to which the absence of French troops [redacted] Germany, and the contest in Spain, gave still greater energy, [redacted] better hopes. Russia, too, [redacted] sounded: but, occupied [redacted] the [redacted] then were with the Swedes [redacted] Turke, Austria [redacted] [redacted] upon her neutrality, if not assistance. In truth, Russia [redacted] have rejoiced [redacted] France once more engaged in mortal struggle with Austria; and would, without doubt, have profited by her success, to [redacted] upon a [redacted] enemy, who had [redacted] strained her [redacted] peace. [redacted] is inconceivable, then, how, in this [redacted] of affairs, Napoleon could have been [redacted] blinded to the relations between these two powers, as to claim the assistance of [redacted] in [redacted] with Austria. [redacted] accession of the Emperor Alexander to [redacted] interview at Erfurth, was rather an [redacted] of courtesy [redacted] of policy.

In fine, all [redacted] passed on the Continent wrought [redacted] advantage of England. The continental powers were exhausting their forces in wars against France; while France, herself, notwithstanding [redacted] immensity of her resources, and the indefatigable activity of her chief, [redacted] failing amid her very triumphs. The English [redacted] been driven from Spain, but had returned. They selected Portugal [redacted] their place of landing, which country had, in fact, become as a colony to them, and thence marched against Marshal [redacted]. The marshal left Spain to meet them. Any other [redacted] Soult would, perhaps, have been thrown into embarrassment, how [redacted] [redacted] obstacles which he had to combat. Much [redacted] been said of his desire to proclaim himself king of Portugal. Bernadotte informed me, in passing through Hamburg, that there had been much discussion on the subject at head-quarters, after the battle of Wagram.

He gave no credit to the report, and I am pretty certain, Napoleon [redacted] disbelieved it. Soult had rendered [redacted] good service at Austerlitz, [redacted] Emperor to lend an ear to such rumours. Nevertheless this affair still rests in obscurity, which cannot be removed till some person, fully acquainted with [redacted] intrigue, chooses [redacted] speak out freely. We [redacted] write history by doubts, hints, and suppositions, but by [redacted] disclosures, [redacted] facts.

[redacted] I have thus been led [redacted] to the chapter of *presumed* ambition, [redacted] engaged with so [redacted] real aspirings, I may just state here what I know, with tolerable certainty, concerning Murat's hopes [redacted] succeeding the Emperor. The following [redacted] facts:—When Romansow returned from [redacted] unsuccessful mission to London, as already noticed, the Emperor was at Bayonne. Bernadotte, who had an agent (for whom, by the way, he paid soundly) at Paris, told [redacted] day that [redacted] private despatch informed [redacted] of Murat's having expressed the idea that he might [redacted] day succeed. Flatterers encouraged [redacted] in [redacted] chimerical expectation, whence they hoped to derive [redacted] something to their own profit. I know not to what [redacted] the Emperor [redacted] informed, [redacted] what he said of this news, but Bernadotte pledged himself for its truth. But, after all, it would be wrong to infer important conclusions from an expression probably uttered in [redacted] thoughtlessness of the moment, especially knowing [redacted]'s vivacity of temperament, which often brought [redacted] imprudencies: the results, however, were always to be apprehended with one of Napoleon's disposition, who, [redacted] the fashion of his service, could at any time easily dispose of a man, when he was, or deemed himself to be, somewhat important.

During the heat of the contest with Spain, [redacted] he [redacted] [redacted] person, Napoleon learned, that Austria, for the [redacted] time, had called out her Landwehre, (militia.) I [redacted] previously received [redacted] [redacted]

MEMOIRS OF

intelligence on these movements through the director of the *Hamburg Correspondent*. That paper, circulating to the extent of sixty thousand copies, had its agents every where, and, among others, one of the functionaries in the [redacted] Vienna received for [redacted] information six [redacted] francs (£250) yearly. [redacted] we learned, that Austria was [redacted] ing and calling in all the resources of her powerful monarchy. The despatches [redacted] I [redacted] probably received also their corroboration from other quarters. Be this as it may, the Emperor now confided operations in the Peninsula to his generals, and set out for Paris, where he arrived in the end of January, [redacted]. He had been in Spain only since the [redacted] of November, and his presence had recalled victory to our standards. But, if the insurgent troops were defeated, the inhabitants, far from submitting, evinced more [redacted] more hostility [redacted] Joseph's cause, and it was by no means probable [redacted] he would ever sit in peace on the throne of Madrid.

I have already laid before the reader the letter from the Emperor of Austria, sent to Napoleon on the interview at Erfurth. The answer to that [redacted] nication, dictated by a species of prophetic anticipation on the part of Napoleon, I preferred postponing till now, where its introduction falls in more directly with the train of events.

"Sir, my Brother,—I thank your imperial and royal majesty for the letter you have been pleased to write, and which Baron de Vincent [redacted] delivered to me. I never entertained a doubt of your majesty's honourable intentions; but for a moment I was not without fear of beholding hostilities renewed between [redacted]. There is, at Vienna, a faction which affects [redacted] prehension, in order to precipitate your cabinet [redacted] violent measures, which will [redacted] the cause of misfortunes greater than any that have preceded. As master, I was in a condition to have dismembered the

monarchy of your majesty, or at least to have less powerful. I desired not this. What your empire is, it is through my forbearance—the proof this of our accounts being closed, and that I have no farther designs upon your territories. I am ever ready to guarantee the integrity of your majesty's monarchy. I will undertake any thing adverse to the grand interests of your realm. Your majesty, however, ought not again to bring under discussion what has been settled by a war of fifteen years' duration; every thing tending to interrupt tranquillity is to be avoided. Your last levy might have provoked hostilities, which I apprehended a combination in these preparations. I have just broken up my camp of the Confederation. One hundred thousand of my troops are on their march for Bologna, for the renewal of my projects against England. I had reason to believe, when I had the pleasure of seeing your majesty, that you had concluded the treaty of Presburg, which was settled for ever, and that I might bend my whole attention to the maritime war, without being opposed or distracted. Let your majesty distrust all those who, by harping on the dangers of the monarchy, disturb your own peace, of your family, and of your people; they alone are to be feared—they alone evoke the dangers which they pretend to dread. By an upright, frank, and candid bearing, your majesty will secure to your subjects and to yourself that happiness, of which, after many troubles, there must be so much need; and I am assured of having in me, a man decided to undertake any thing against your leading interests. Let your transactions shew confidence, and they will inspire it. The best policy in these days is simplicity and truth. Let me beseech your majesty to explain any causes of uneasiness as they occur; I will instantly dissipate them. Let your majesty permit me to say, that your majesty should be guided by your own judgment—your own feelings; they are

superior to those of your advisers. I entreat your majesty to construe my letter in good part, and to overlook nothing therein which is not for the welfare and tranquillity of Europe, and of your majesty."

But the air of superiority assumed by Napoleon in this letter, as if he had been writing to one of the petty princes of the Confederation, there could be little doubt of a war quickly taking place. The whole was in a spirit calculated to rouse the pride of the representative of the Cæsars. But, for a time, the preparations of Francis, though upon the largest scale, were secret, and ostensibly defensive merely. Metternich, while he avoided all direct explanations, constantly averred, according to instructions, the peaceful desires of his court. Austria hesitated to step forth to the combat; but, at length, yielding to the solicitations of England, and the underhand instigations of Russia—above all, seduced by the subsidies of the former—she declared herself, and commenced hostilities, not against France, but against our allies of the Confederation of the Rhine.

The first declaration of hostile intentions occurred on 9th April, 1809, in the shape of a note addressed by Prince Charles, commander-in-chief of the Austrian forces, to the General of the French troops in Bavaria, couched in these terms:—

"According to a declaration of his majesty the Emperor of Austria to the Emperor Napoleon, I advertise the general-in-chief commanding the French army in Bavaria, that I have an order to advance with the troops under my command, and to treat as enemies those who shall oppose resistance."

A copy of this order was forwarded by a courier to Strasburg, thence by telegraph to Paris. The Emperor, surprised, but disconcerted, received it at St Cloud, on the 11th of April, and, two hours, was upon the road to Germany. The

complication ■ in which he found himself engaged, seemed to give ■ impetus ■ activity. When ■ appeared at the army in Bavaria, neither ■ troops, nor even ■ guard, ■ yet been ■ to transport themselves thither. He threw himself at the head of the Bavarians: in ■ days ■ Napoleon's departure ■ Paris, the army of ■ Archduke, ■ had passed the Inn, ■ menaced. The ■ Emperor's head-quarters ■ Donawerth, whence he ■ his soldiers ■ of those brief, energetic proclamations, ■ prodigies; and ■ one alone, forwarded to ■ by an extraordinary courier, actually tranquillized ■ north of Germany, ready as all were to ■ against him.

"Soldiers!—The territory of the Confederation ■ been violated. The Austrian general commanded ■ to flee the very aspect of ■ and abandon ■ allies. I ■ here with the speed of lightning. Soldiers! I ■ surrounded by you when the Austrian monarch ■ to my bivouac in Moravia: you heard ■ implore my clemency, and ■ to ■ the amity of a brother. Victors ■ we were in three wars, ■ all to our generosity: triply ■ she perjured! Our past ■ holds forth a ■ pledge of ■ victory that awaits ■ Forward, then! and ■ your presence ■ ■ acknowledge their conquerors!"

I had now an explanation of the urgency of preceding demands for contingencies from the circle to which I was accredited. These, as already mentioned, ■ again and again reiterated in February, ■ time when the ■ of the Confederation had ■ broken up, and the French troops withdrawn, ■ the purpose of encamping at Boulogne, as Napoleon ■ announced to the Emperor of Austria, but ■ being directed against Spain. All ■ complication of events did ■ proved ■ Europe, and,

in the end, even to France, whatever might be her success, but supplied an occasion for a brilliant display of the Emperor's genius. In like manner as his poet loved to strike lyre the tempest, political convulsion seemed awaken energies his own dark spirit.

During the campaign of 1809, and at especially, the advance of Napoleon even more rapid than in the struggle of But I pt a full detail of proceedings: I myself, as formerly, to recollections, interesting in themselves, known, and which fell under my knowledge; but which, the time, throw light upon the whole campaign. the Emperor had been informed of the attack directed by the Austrians against Bavaria, his orders were instantly expedited to all officers commanding divisions, to hasten their march towards the of action. The Prince of Ponte Corvo called among the rest, and received the Saxons under his orders,—a situation with which he was by no means satisfied. Bonaparte never forgave the 18th Brumaire. “are,” writes Bernadotte to me, on the 6th, “in presence of the Austrians: very strong in Bohemia, and in my front; and I have scarcely got together fifteen thousand Saxons.”*

The promptitude of Napoleon necessary than during the campaign of 1809; decision in marching upon Vienna a master-stroke, and anticipated the plots, well they were, in case of a check, overturn his government in the north. England, intoxicated by in Portugal Spain, employed the whole chinery of her intrigues, and had arranged expedition in our quarter, which of the grand alone prevented. expedition to con-

* General Damas, an excellent man, who fell in the campaign of Moscow, was appointed to succeed Bernadotte as governor in Hamburg.—*Translator*.

list of ■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ artillery, clothing, muskets, ■■■ ■■■■ of every kind, were already collected ■■■ Heligoland, ■■■ Mr Canning ■■■ been written ■■■ by the Austrian cabinet, urging the descent. It was the Archduke's design, to concentrate, in the heart of Germany, a great mass of troops, composed ■■■ the corps of Generals Amende and Radoswowitz, and the English troops, who ■■■ ■■■ be joined by the expected insurgents, on their march through ■■■ northern ■■■■. The English cabinet would have wished ■■■ the Archduke ■■■ advanced a little way farther; but ■■■ preferred hazarding the diversion ■■■ compromising ■■■ safety of the monarchy, by departing from ■■■ habitual inactivity, ■■■ risking ■■■ passage of the Danube, in the face of an adversary never ■■■ be surprised, and who calculated all possible contingencies. To ensure ■■■ ■■■■ of the expedition, however, Field-marshal Kienmacker ■■■ ■■■ with ■■■ large reinforcement, ■■■ ■■■ ■■■■ staff, ■■■ the command in Saxony ■■■ Franconia, with directions ■■■ prosecute the invasion vigorously. In adopting this plan of campaign, the Archduke hoped that the Emperor of France would either detach ■■■ strong division to the support of his allies, or would leave them ■■■ their ■■■■ defence. In the former ■■■■ the Archduke would have retained gr■■■ superiority ■■■■ the grand army, ■■■■ diminished; and, in ■■■ latter, all ■■■■ prepared in Hesse, Hanover, and other northern states, for ■■■ revolt of the inhabitants, ■■■ the approach of the English ■■■ Austrian armies.

But all ■■■■ arrangements w■■■ rendered naught, by the Emperor's ■■■■ system of war, which consisted in pouncing upon the capital; thus paralysing ■■■ enemy in the very centre of his strength, ■■■■ forcing ■■■■ speedily to sue for peace. He was master of Vienna before England ■■■■ organized ■■■ intended expedition. ■■■■ commencement of July, indeed, ■■■ English did approach Cuxhaven, with twelve ■■■■ vessels of war. Here they ■■■■ ■■■■

MEMOIRS OF

four or five hundred seamen, with some fifty marines, and planted a standard upon one of the outworks. The day after this landing, the English in Denmark Copenhagen, after destroying a battery by the naval forces. On quitting Cuxhaven, they Deserts, agent for the consulate at Hamburg, who, on being reclaimed as a citizen, was provisionally set at liberty by Lord Stuart.

But return to the Emperor's progress. Setting out from Paris on the 11th, he had him, on the 17th, at Donawerth, in active operations as the head of the Bavarians: on the 23d, he was master of Ratisbon. In the engagement which preceded his entrance into that city, Napoleon was wounded in the heel; the hurt, slight indeed, could not induce him to quit for an instant the field of battle. Between Donawerth and Ratisbon, also, by a brilliant achievement, as skilful as it was daring, Davoust gained and merited his title of Prince of Eckmühl. Before quitting Ratisbon, the Emperor issued to his soldiers another of his brief addresses:—

"You have justified my anticipations, and have supplied numbers by bravery. In the space of a few days we have triumphed in the three battles of Thann, D'Abensberg, and Eckmühl, in the engagements of Penning, Ladshut, and Ratisbon. Our enemy, intoxicated by a perjured cabinet, seemed to have no longer preserved any remembrance of us. You have shewn yourselves to be more terrible than our enemies. Lately our enemies invaded the territories of our allies; a few weeks, and they flattered themselves with carrying the war into the bosom of our country; to-day, defeated and terror-struck, they are in disordered flight. Already my advanced guard has passed the Inn: before a month, we shall be at Vienna."

Fortune seemed then to sport her favours in

of this boasting, for a month not elapsed when another proclamation from the Emperor announced to his soldiers their entrance into the Austrian capital. But, he thus passing from triumph to triumph, in Hamburg, and the places adjacent, a neighbour whose presence inspired any thing but security. He was the famous Prussian partizan, Major Schill, who, after exercising his power in Westphalia, had thrown himself into Mecklenburg, whence, as I learned, he designed to surprise our city. He was in Westphalia, that in Hamburg he paid the contributions levied from Jerome's kingdom. He was of six hundred hussars, well mounted and of audacity, with some fifteen hundred foot, badly armed, he carried the fortress of Domitz, in Mecklenburg, on the 15th May. From this station he sent out parties, who raised contributions on both sides of the Elbe, stopped and plundered the public diligences, inquiring eagerly after news from England. This partizan inspired great terror in his progress; requisitions, when not granted, were taken by force. He advanced to Rydzdorf, within twelve miles of Hamburg, capturing Wismar, summoning Stralsund, and forcing the Duke of Mecklenburg, though he had protected and granted asylum to the officer, Count Moleke, who pursued him, to seek safety in flight. The alarm at Hamburg became general. Some even talked of bribing Schill to depart, but more firm counsels prevailed; I consulted with the magistracy, took the city for a defence, and sent, under a strong escort, into Holstein, the customhouse chest, with a million in gold. At the same time I despatched to the leaguer a dexterous spy, who, by frightened marauder, he was by descriptions of our plans and resolutions of defence, that, breaking up his camp, and, leaving us on the left, he marched upon Lubeck, which, being without defence, offered no offer. A single band of his hand was out-opped the main body, and, presenting himself alone at the gate, demanded admittance, and billets for

or three thousand men, who were coming. The guard of the customhouse were about to fire upon this daring prowler, when he scampered off at full gallop. Such was the spirit of the foray. Schill's farther progress was barred. Lieutenant-General Gratien came out from Berlin in pursuit, by order of the Prince of Neufchatel, with three thousand five hundred Swedes and Hollanders. These, some days after, having hemmed in his corps, at Stralsund, defended himself last, and, in an engagement of six hours, the chief being killed, the whole band was destroyed or dispersed.

A war of brigandage, such as that carried on by Schill, cannot be honourably acknowledged by any power which respects itself; yet the English government, always on the watch to excite and support wars of sedition and marauding, sent to Schill the brevet of colonel, and a complete uniform of a general rank, with the assurance that his whole band should thenceforth be in the pay of England. This famous partisan had many imitators of a more elevated rank, in the Duke of Brunswick-Oels, who, in August of the same year, pursued an equally adventurous and more successful career. At the head of two thousand men, more or less, he spread dismay along the left bank of the Elbe, and entered Bremen on the 5th. An officer of the Duke's presented himself at the house of the French consul, who had fled, and demanded two hundred louis, (£160,) otherwise he would give orders to pillage. The person who had been left in charge persuaded the Duke to accept of eighty louis, for which the robber gave an acknowledgment in the Duke's name. The Brunswickers, being pursued by the troops of Westphalia, under General Reubell, quitted Bremen the evening of the 6th, endeavouring to gain Holland in all haste. On the 7th, the pursuers entered that town, and went out again in pursuit. Meanwhile, to four thousand English disembarked at Cux-

haven, but, as before, without effecting any thing. The Duke of Brunswick, always pursued, had traversed Germany, from the confines of Bohemia to Elsfleth, a small sea-port on the [] the Weser, where he arrived on the 7th, [] day's [] in advance of his pursuers. Here he seized all the [] of transport, and, [] his troops, reached Heligoland in safety. General Renbell [] very improperly disgraced, [] if by [] negligence [] had escaped. This unjust punishment produced a bad effect upon the public []

[] the history, [] rather adventures, of two men, of whom [] former was really remarkable for [] bravery: they both inflicted much mischief, and might have opened [] eyes to what the free [] of Germany would [] able [] achieve, when the day of her emancipation arrived.

Rapp, who had [] his functions near the Emperor's person, [] aide-de-camp, [] the [] campaign of Vienna, related to me one of those traits or judgments of Napoleon, which, from him, when compared with events which have since occurred, seemed like sympathetic foresights of his own destiny. One day, while a few marches from Vienna, [] Emperor, who kept a guide by him [] give the [] of all the villages, and explain the [] ruin which he passed on his march, perceived [] an eminence the decayed remains of an ancient fortalice: "These," said the guide, "are the ruins of the castle of Diernstein." Napoleon suddenly stopped, assumed a meditative air, and continued for some time motionless, gazing on the ruins. Then turning to Marshal Lannes, who accompanied him on horseback, "Look," said the Emperor; "behold the prison of Richard Cœur de Lion. He, like us, went to Syria and [] The Lion-Heart, my brave Lannes, [] not braver than thou, though more fortunate than I, [] Acre. A duke of Austria sold him to an emperor of Germany, who shut him up yonder. These were

the times of barbarism. How different from our civilization! It was then how I saw the Emperor of Austria, when I could have made him my prisoner. Well, well; I saw him again exactly in the same way. Yet it is not I who do this—it is my age: crowned with grey hair, I must be respected. I conqueror in a stronghold!”*

A few days afterwards the Emperor was at the gates of Vienna; but, this once, access to the capital was not so easy as in 1805. The fortunate Duke of Launee then opened the gates; but his days were numbered; he fell soon after the battle of Wagram. The Archduke Ferdinand, shut in the city, determined on defending his post, though the French were already in possession of the principal suburbs. His vain offers of truce sent in; the bearers were not only refused admittance, but even maltreated, and one of them almost massacred by the populace. A bombardment then commenced, and the city soon wrapt in flames. The Emperor, being informed

* Richard occupied at least two separate places of confinement,—the first Diernstein, and the second, whence he was ransomed, Griesenstein. The latter stands upon a wooded and romantic steep, on the right bank of the Danube, closely overlooking its broad and rapid stream, here divided by numerous islands, and about twenty-five miles above Vienna. This feudal stronghold is still in good repair, and occasionally inhabited, for a week or two, as a hunting seat, by its noble owner, Prince Lichtenstein. A pilgrimage to this spot is remembered as a most delightful excursion. Richard's prison, a room in the second story of a square tower, with walls twelve feet thick, remains exactly as when “a king was its captive.” In one angle still stands his bed, or rather den, built of squared oak beams; and round the walls are inscribed names in languages both of Europe and Asia. “Loebheart” I found to be a household word among the surrounding peasantry; and, from a maiden, who was seated by a murmuring brook, decking her head with wild flowers, and singing, I procured several stanzas, attributed, from time immemorial, to the English monarch.—*Translator.*

of the archduchesses in Vienna detained by illness, gave orders firing. Strange destiny of Napoleon! this archduchess was Louisa! Vienna last capitulated, the Emperor then, as of old, established at Schoenbrunn, did not fail to remind his soldiers, in a new proclamation, what he had predicted in his last address:—

"Soldiers!—A month after the enemy had passed the Inn, on the same day, at the same hour, entered Vienna. Landwehren, levies en masse, ramparts created by the powerless the princes of the house of Lorraine, have been unable to support your looks. The princes of the house leave their capital, not as soldiers of honour, who yield to the circumstances of war, but like perjured pursued by Flying from Vienna, their adieus its inhabitants murder and conflagration. Like Medea, they have strangled their children with their Soldiers! the population of Vienna, using the words of the deputation from its suburbs, disheartened abandoned, will become the objects of your attention. I take under my especial protection all the peaceable inhabitants; as to turbulent and wicked men, I them examples of summary justice, Soldiers! be kind to the poor peasants—to the honest people who have so many claims to your esteem; let us cherish no pride of; let us behold therein a proof of that divine justice which punishes the ungrateful and perjured!"

Who would have thought, after this proclamation, in which the Emperor of Austria was treated with so little respect, that the campaign would terminate in Napoleon becoming his son-in-law! Besides, I have always thought, that the mania of Bonaparte insulting his enemies was his policy; but my observations on this point were invariably ill received.

If, again, be asked, why I thus convert my

own purposes Napoleon's proclamations, while preserving a religious silence in respect to his bulletins? The answer is obvious: The former, with the exception of predictions always verified, were founded in fact: they stated particulars known to those who had been personally actors; but the latter were intended for the people of France and foreign countries, and well justified the proverb, "Mendacious as a bulletin."

But the Emperor had undertaken too many things once, for these all equally to succeed. While engaged prosperously in the heart of Germany, his commercial decrees were sadly infringed along its coasts. In some places, notwithstanding his beloved Continental System, things went on in times of peace. And—commodities more obnoxious than any other manufactured or imported by his enemy—her newspapers circulated, as if England and France been in the best footing possible. At Hamburg, however, the means were not so overt, but that, by secret means, colonial productions were smuggled in to a great extent. More than six thousand individuals chiefly of the populace, were employed in this contraband trade, going and returning twenty times in a day, between Altona and Hamburg, with goods so concealed, no decency prohibits my describing. I may mention two, however, out of many ingenious instances of more wholesale dealings. Between the city and the sea lay a piece of ground, whence materials were brought to repair one of the principal streets of Hamburg. During the night, the sand pits were filled with brown sugar, which, of a dark colour, nearly resembled the paving materials in colour. With this sugar small carts which conveyed these materials were filled, the load covered with paper, and a layer of sand, some inch thick, laid over the whole. The searching rods of the excisemen easily penetrated to the bottom; they saw nothing but sand, and the whole went on merrily. As may be supposed, the street

continued long under repair, those concerned being in no [redacted] to mend their ways : and, as this happened [redacted] [redacted] road [redacted] my country house, I complained of the delay without knowing [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] the same discovery, that the paving advanced [redacted] marvellous slowness ; and seized, one luckless day, the whole of the carts. [redacted] it became necessary to fall upon some other contrivance.

Upon the right bank of the Elbe, between Altona and Hamburg lies a small village, inhabited by sailors, labourers in the harbour, and a considerable number of respectable proprietors. Their burial place is within [redacted] city of Hamburg. Well, it [redacted] observed that [redacted] than ordinary number of hearses, but with all the proper decorations and customary rites, passed from this small place. Astonished at the extreme mortality which appeared suddenly to have fallen upon their worthy neighbours without [redacted] walls, the excise at length ventured to interrogate [redacted] of the defunct. Dead men, they say, tell no tales : and, truly, [redacted] it happened here, for, [redacted] how or other, the lamented deceased could not be found, though [redacted] amply provided in the commodities of coffee, sugar, vanilla, indigo, &c. Once more, a branch of [redacted] [redacted] knocked up.

Penalties and confiscations overwhelmed the delinquents ; but these did not prevent, sometimes [redacted] by force, the people from struggling against a fiscal barbarism, which, instead of injuring England, was bringing ruin [redacted] the Continent, by forcing [redacted] [redacted] pay four [redacted] five prices for colonial produce. But, jealous [redacted] he was, above all things, of what men said, [redacted] [redacted] what they thought of him, Napoleon, during the campaign, sent me order upon order to [redacted] the journals. [redacted] length [redacted] settled the matter, by obtaining, from the Syndic Censor, that nothing should be inserted in the journals of Hamburg, [redacted] the other newspapers of Germany, except [redacted] h

articles as had previously appeared in the journals!

My recollections of 1809 carried me forward to the anniversary of Bonaparte's birth-days. He had introduced a new era into the calendar under the name of St Napoleon, and appointed the 15th August for his birth-day, the 15th August. The coincidence of this day with the day of the Assumption, gave occasion to the most inconceivable adulation. Will my readers believe, that the words I am now to quote were pronounced from the pulpit? "God, in his sacred mercy, made choice of Napoleon as his representative upon earth. The Queen of Heaven deigned to mark, by the most munificent of gifts, the anniversary of that day which witnessed her reception into the celestial mansions. Holy Virgin! it was not without an especial dispensation of thy love for the French, and of thine all powerful influence with thy Son, that, to the chief of these thy solemn days, should belong the birth of the great Napoleon. God decreed that from thy sepulchre should spring a hero!" I might treat to other specimens, but disgust withholds me; and certainly the episcopal mandaments of the empire would form a curious collection.

The 15th of August, so favourable to the growth and practice of flattery, was, on the present occasion, an auspicious day for those personages who were named princes of Württemberg, Besseling, Beckmühl, and seven others, created dukes at the same time. There was here something positive; yet have we rapid declaimers against such titles, recommended as they were by a good endowment. But let us see these men put to the proof,—would they have hesitated? *Credat Judæis!* I, too, had my luck on this day. After the ceremonial at Hamburg, I made a short excursion to Lubeck. During my brief stay

* So the Roman Church terms the Virgin Mary.

place, arrived a certain Pollon d'Alix, calling a native Neufchatel, whose appearance, demeanour, acquaintances not. I a strong presentiment to arrest the This was a measure I much repugnance enforce, of actual culpability; still the presentiment was strong: I order his arrest; which hardly effected, a letter me Westphalia, having been expedited afterwards to Lubeck, recommending, by all means, to this said Pollon d'Alix, dangerous person. He introduced, with commendations, the police at Paris, who best know what became of him.

time the of Westphalia a tour through his states, and had advanced no great distance from Hamburg. Bonaparte's brothers, he been least known to me; and, of all the family, evidently possessed claims to personal esteem. I have in my possession only two of his letters, of which, dated 23d November, 1802, is already before the reader.* The other, of the 6th September, 1800, runs as follows:—

"Monsieur Bourrienne, — I shall be Hanover on the 10th; if it were possible for you to come there pass twenty-four hours, it would be agreeable to I should then be able to remove all the difficulties which may arise in negotiating the loan which I wish to raise in the Hanse Towns. I have pleasure in believing that you will do all in your power to forward the affair. At the present moment, this loan, as respects my kingdom, is an operation extreme importance. I offer securities more than sufficient; but it be of no service to me unless granted for at least two years.

"JEROME NAPOLEON."

Now, I ask, is it not most amusing, on comparing two letters, seven years distant in date, find, Jerome, lieutenant of a cutter, Jerome Napoleon, King of Westphalia, but the same in writing,—to ask for money? The naval officer's concern was easily got over, expressed of only a few epithets, launched by the Comte against the *dirty little rascal*, he then termed Jerome; but the affair of Majesty of Westphalia required more delicate management. Jerome wished to borrow from Hamburg the sum of three millions of francs, (£125,000;) but, notwithstanding Westphalian Majesty's "more than sufficient necessities," no lenders would untie their purse-strings. However, without employing my influence as minister of France, which I dared not do without consulting the Emperor, I prevailed upon the Emperor to grant him hundred thousand francs, towards paying the arrears due to his troops; and a farther sum of two hundred thousand, (in all £12,500,) for clothing and other necessaries, for his soldiers were in want of every thing. This will appear from the fact, that he first equipped twenty-five of his own body guard, of which had been literally naked. The misery which at that time reigned throughout Germany, both among the French and the Germans of France, may be gathered from an expression of the King of Bavaria. I use his very words to one of the imperial household: "Things continue thus, we may shut shop, and put the key under the door."

Jerome, though sadly disappointed, seemed under obligation, and some days after, his portrait, in a box set with diamonds, with a letter, thanking me for what I had done for his unfortunate soldiers. This, I safely say, was my pleasure, as I wished to have no favours from the Bonaparte family; but it never entered my brain to refuse the present of a crowned head. Napoleon was not of the same opinion. Courier after

courier brought reproaches for having accepted, without consulting him, and orders for me to return, "this mark of special regard," for so had I designated the miniature in a general despatch to the foreign minister. I sent back the box with the brilliants, and retained the portrait. Napoleon, however, had been apprehend that there was something singular in the loan, which probably irritated him, I had great trouble in proving, though he was last convinced, that Jerome had behaved with propriety. As to the loan actually effected, they rejoiced in coming off so well, for they dreaded a visit from the Westphalian division, and would have cost much more.

We return to Napoleon at Vienna; who, after the decisive battle of Wagram, became involved in apparently endless negotiations with Austria. His patience failing, he formed a plan to revolutionise and dismember Hungary, but, though the design at this period maturely considered, the urgency of other affairs caused it being abandoned. I was not, however, surprised in the least on receiving the intelligence of the proposed revolution, for I only recalled the instance more of a return by the Emperor to the projects of Bonaparte, which I, myself, assisted in raising. Thus, I had noted, that one evening, before the treaty of Campo-Formio, he said to Berthier and me,—"There might be something done with Hungary, if the Austrian government does not speedily come to a conclusion, an insurrection in the country would do no harm, and nothing can be done." The Hungarians have the same apathy as the inhabitants of the other Austrian provinces.

As negotiations were going on, the Emperor visited the corps of his army, and the field of battle of Wagram, which had lately witnessed one of the fiercest of wars, success in which is the more glorious that it has been bravely contested. In the camp

before Vienna, also, he [redacted] the order of the "Three Fleeces," an institution which was never practically realised. But he did not always amuse himself so harmlessly in conceiving designs; he now [redacted] which alienated many minds in France. Five days [redacted] bombardment of Vienna, that is to say, [redacted] 17th of May, Napoleon promulgated a decree, by which the Papal [redacted] united [redacted] empire, [redacted] declared an imperial city. [redacted] was good [redacted] policy, we [redacted] see hereafter; meanwhile, [redacted] a usurpation without courage, and, considering the individual relations which [redacted] sub-[redacted] between the parties, [redacted] of base ingratitude.

At Vienna, too, Napoleon received intelligence of the disaster [redacted] Talavera de la Reyna. My letters from head-quarters described his being greatly affected, and making [redacted] secret of the pain inflicted by the loss thus sustained by his arms. I believe him to have been strongly attached [redacted] the conquest, just in proportion to [redacted] : [redacted] conquest he [redacted] beheld, if not wrested from his grasp, at least become doubtful in the dark chances of futurity. At Talavera, began also [redacted] be known in Europe the name of a man, who, perhaps, might not have been without some glory, had not a great reputation been attempted to be claimed for him. This formed the brilliant [redacted] of Arthur Wellesley, whose [redacted] successes, however they might have been gained, [redacted] attended with such [redacted] results.*

* I render the exact meaning, but cannot pretend to assign the import of this passage, as understood by my original. The Duke of Wellington [redacted], in succession, his most [redacted] marshals, and, finally, Napoleon himself. How low, then, [redacted] considered [redacted] renown, if [redacted] of their conqueror [redacted] not great indeed! Among the many coincidences to be found in the life of Bonaparte, [redacted] is not one of the least singular, that, in [redacted] [redacted] Vienna, [redacted] should have learned the disastrous [redacted] of Trafalgar, and, again, at Vienna, in 1809, the English victory of [redacted] each intimation, too, given in [redacted] very midst of triumphant negotiations, and each striking [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] experienced this [redacted] in the Peninsula, the [redacted] attempted an expedition into Holland, where they had already made themselves [redacted] Walcheren. This conquest, indeed, they [redacted] obliged speedily to abandon; but as the peace between Austria and France [redacted] still under discussion, in consequence of the [redacted] of Znaïm, the reverses of the [redacted] prolonged the settlement of conditions, the [redacted] expecting that new defeats might render these [redacted] objectionable. These delays occasioned Napoleon great irritation. [redacted] burned to be [redacted] on [redacted] enemies that remained, Spain and Britain. The Spanish affairs, especially, engaged his attention, for the battle of Talavera had struck at his military [redacted]. This [redacted] not, however, the sole motive which induced him to relax somewhat in his pretensions with Austria.

Germany, at this time, presented a scene of suffering which it is impossible to [redacted]; this was increased by the [redacted] of foreign troops, always grievous whatever [redacted] the French generals might employ [redacted] maintain discipline; and [redacted] misery, illuminism had added the evils of fanaticism. As the only means of delivering Germany, a young [redacted] formed the design of assassinating Napoleon, whom the unfortunate youth regarded as her scourge. Rapp [redacted] Berthier were close by the Emperor when the assassin was secured, and I congratulate myself [redacted] laying before the world the following details, the only [redacted] authentic [redacted] which have yet appeared on this mysterious [redacted]. General Rapp and myself had pledged ourselves to mutual confidence [redacted] attempt of Staps, which he witnessed, and that of another still more extraordinary enthusiast, with the particulars of which, as will hereafter appear, I alone am fully acquainted.

strength. The first annihilated his armies; the second launched a blow which, followed up, laid prostrate the columns of his military power. — *Translator.*

court, the duty of interrogating in that language devolved upon me. But this examination I merely interpreted. It was Napoleon's eagerness to know the replies, that, in the following dialogue, the Emperor and Staps were the speakers; I was only the instrument of communication, rendering the Emperor's questions into German, and the responses into French.

"Emperor, 'Whence came you?'—Staps, 'From Narremberg.'—'What is your father's profession?'—'He is Protestant Minister there.'—'How old are you?'—'Eighteen.'—'What were you doing with your knife?'—'Kill you.'—'You are mad, young man; you are one of the illuminati.'—'I am not; I do not know the meaning of illuminati.'—'You are ill, then?'—'I am not ill; I am in perfect health.'—'Why do you hate me?'—'You are the cause of the misfortunes of my country.'—'Have I done any injury to you?'—'To every German.'—'By whom were you sent?—who instigated you to this crime?'—'No one; it is my intimate conviction, that, in slaying you, I render the greatest service to my country and to Europe, which armed my hand.'—'Is this the first time you have seen me?'—'I saw you at Erfurth, at the time of your interview with the Emperor of Russia.'—'Had you not then the intention of killing me?'—'No; I believed you would not again make war upon Germany. I was one of your greatest admirers.'—'How long have you been in Vienna?'—'Ten days.'—'Why did you delay so long before attempting your design?'—'Eight days ago I arrived in Schonbrunn, intending to kill you; but the parade just ended. I postponed the execution of my attempt till to-day.'—'You are insane, I see you, or you are ill.'

"Here the Emperor desired Corvisart to be sent for. Staps inquired who was Corvisart? 'A physician,' he replied. 'It is not, my youth;

he kept till the doctor arrived. During this interval Staps exhibited the nishing composure. moment Corvisart entered, Napoleon gave him orders to feel the young man's pulse, which immediately, when Staps 'Is it so, sir? am I, not quite well?'—'The young gentleman,' said Corvisart, addressing the Emperor, 'is in perfect health.'—'Did I speak truly?' resumed Staps, pronouncing these words with a sort of satisfaction. I really astonished the coolness and impassibility of Staps; and Napoleon himself seemed as if in momentary young man's firmness. After brief pause, the Emperor thus resumed:—'Your brain is disordered. You will the ruin of your family. I will grant your life if you will my pardon for the crime which you designed to commit, and for which you ought to be sorry.'—'I want no pardon; I feel the liveliest regret for having succeeded.'—'The devil! it appears crime is nothing to you.'—'To you is no crime—it is a duty.'—'Whose portrait was that found upon you?'—'It that of a young person whom I love.'—'will doubtless be much afflicted by your adventure.'—'She will be only at my failure; she abhors you as much as I do.'—'But, after all this, if I pardon you, will you not be thankful to me?'—'I will kill you not the less.'

"Napoleon," continued Rapp, "exhibited a stupefaction such as I had never witnessed in him. The replies of Staps, and his unshaken resolution, reduced him to a condition that I cannot describe. He ordered the prisoner removed. When the latter been away, 'Behold,' Napoleon to us, 'the results of the illuminism which

* young lady,—fit specimen of novel can meet,—was, I have been given to understand, a relation, and resided with the parents of Staps.

Germany. These are ~~the~~ principles, ~~as~~ my word, ~~the~~ charming lights, which transform youth into ~~the~~ ~~there is no remedy against illuminism; a sect~~ ~~the~~ destroyed ~~the~~ the cannon's mouth.' ~~the~~ ~~farther declamation against~~ ~~the~~ illuminati, Napoleon, with Berthier, ~~withdrew~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ cabinet, and ~~the~~ event, which it was endeavoured to conceal, became ~~the~~ subject of conversation to the inhabitants of the castle of Schonbrunn. In the evening the Emperor sent for me; 'Rapp,' said he, 'truly the occurrence of the morning is most extraordinary. I ~~cannot~~ believe that ~~the~~ young ~~men~~ alone could conceive ~~the~~ design of assassinating ~~me~~. There ~~is~~ something ~~at~~ the bottom. I ~~am~~ not easily ~~so~~ convinced that the courts of Berlin and Wismar ~~are~~ strangers to the affair.'—'Sire, permit me,' said I, 'to tell your majesty, that these suspicions appear ~~to~~ ~~me~~ groundless. Staps is an isolated individual; his calm countenance, ~~and~~ even his fanaticism, are proof ~~of~~ of this.'—'But I ~~know~~ you,' interrupted ~~the~~ Emperor, 'that there are women in this plot—furies ~~seeking~~ for vengeance: could I obtain evidence, I would have them seized in the midst of their court!'—'Ah! sire, it ~~is~~ impossible that man or woman in these courts could have harboured so atrocious a design.'—'I ~~am~~ by no means sure of that: was it ~~not~~ they who stirred on ~~the~~ against us while ~~we~~ were ~~in~~ peace with Prussia? But patience—we ~~will~~ ~~see~~ day.'—'But, sire, Schill's affairs ~~are~~ nothing in common with this attempt of Staps.'—You know," pursued Rapp, "how desirous the Emperor always is ~~that~~ every one should ~~be~~ in with ~~his~~ opinion. I had ~~a~~ proof of it here; for, all at ~~once~~ dropping his familiarity of address, he continued, in ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~voice~~, however, 'You speak in vain, Monsieur le General; they like us not, neither at Berlin nor Wismar. I know the ~~mutual~~ enmity of these ~~parties~~—but patience. You ~~will~~ write ~~to~~ General Laner;

it ■■■ duty ■■ examine Staps; say especially that I recommend to ■■■ to ■■■■ confession.'

"I wrote ■■■ of ■■■ instructions, but in vain; Staps adhered to the declaration given to ■■■ Emperor; his placidity and resignation never for a moment forsook him, and he persisted in saying, that he alone was the contriver and sole confidant of his design. Still the Emperor ■■■ struck by ■■■ enterprise of Staps, that ■■■ spoke again to me on ■■■ subject, ■ few days after, when ■■■ to leave Schonbrunn. We ■■■ alone, when he remarked ■ me,—' ■■■ unfortunate Staps, I cannot get ■■■ out of my mind. When I think of him, my thoughts ■■■ in perplexity. No—I cannot conceive that a young ■■■ of his age—a German, one who had received a good education; above all, ■ Protestant, could have imagined and designed to execute such a crime. Consider for a moment; the Italians ■■■ garded as a nation of assassins; well! ■■■ Italian ever attempted my life. ■ is beyond my comprehension. Inform yourself of the ■■■ in which Staps died, and let me know.' I made the necessary inquiries at General Lauer; it appeared that Staps, whose attempt ■■■ made on the 23d of October, ■■■ executed ■ the 27th, at ■■■ in the morning, and ■■■ not tasted food from ■■■ 24th. On provisions being brought, he refused to eat, saying, 'I ■■■ strength sufficient to carry me to death.' When informed that peace ■■■ concluded, he expressed great sorrow, and a trembling passed over ■■■ whole frame. Having reached ■■■ place ■ execution, ■■■ cried out with a loud voice, 'Hail, Liberty! Germany for ever! Death to the tyrant!'—and fell."

Such ■■■ Rapp's recital to me, while ■■■ ■■■ together in the garden of the old hotel of Monctmorin, which the general then inhabited. ■■■ likewise shewed me the knife with which Staps had intended to perpetrate the deed, ■■■ which the Emperor had given him. ■ was nothing more than an ordinary

carving knife. Another important circumstance connected with this adventure, and which I drew from a different, but not less authentic, source, is, the attempt of Staps both to conclude the conditions of peace. The conferences, as is generally known, were opened at Raab. Although, by this time, peace had become equally necessary to both powers, they were not in the same condition to enforce it; but, beaten as she was, Austria still held by certain reservations. M. de Champagny, plenipotentiary for France, had brought Prince Lichtenstein, representative of Austria, to concede the most important demands,—those relating to the proposed cession of territory. But new difficulties were started by Napoleon, whose requisitions increased in proportion to the facile concessions of Austria. Negotiations were thus suspended, nor did the envoys meet for several days, when the enterprise of Staps took place. Immediately after the examination of the young fanatic, as above related, Napoleon for de Champagny.—“Where are the negotiations?” The minister described their situation at last meeting.—“I desire that they be immediately resumed. Conclude: I wish peace: do not demur for a few millions more or less in the amount of the indemnity I require from Austria: yield that point. I wish to finish: I leave that matter to you.”

The promptitude of the minister did not admit time for the Emperor to retract: the same evening the conferences were resumed, the conditions in question discussed, settled, and signed, before morning. I know that, on the morrow, when the plenipotentiary presented him the levee, with the treaty ready for signature, Napoleon hardly examined it, approved of all, signed, and signified his satisfaction with the despatch that had been used. This was the way to Napoleon. How often have I seen him leave his cabinet with sage and moderate resolutions; then,

on traversing the ranks of his soldiers, whom he had been accustomed to behold victorious under his guidance, relapse into his gigantic ideas, lay his prudent determinations aside, and launch forth into the bold and imaginative of an ambitious futurity. By the treaty concluded, through the promptitude of the plenipotentiaries, without doubt, by the attempted crime of the youthful enthusiast, whom Napoleon believed might only many, the ancient of German empire overthrown. Francis II. Emperor of Germany, became Francis I. Emperor of Austria. Unlike his namesake of France, newly created Francis I. could "All is lost, honour." Honour been not a compromised, but all else was not lost. Nevertheless, the Austrian monarchy to sustain grievous sacrifices: as had been the case in 1805, Napoleon took care of himself and his allies. Austria ceded to the sovereigns of Confederation of the Rhine, countries of Salzburg, and Bergtolagaden, with a portion of Upper Austria; and to France, the district of Gorizia, the territory of the Montifalcione, the government and city of Trieste, the circle of in Carinthia, and the countries on the right bank of the Saave to the confines of Bosnia, with Carniola and a part of Croatia, Fiume, and of Hungary, with Istria. grand-duchy of Warsaw augmented by Western and Cracovia. Russia also came in for part spoils of Austria, she had previously shared those of Prussia; and received remainder of Galitsia, for having kept up an army of observation of thirty thousand men, which, doubtless, would have fallen upon Napoleon, had he been beaten! So much work geographers,—a class of much Emperor. countries France immediately thrown under general government, and designated the Illyrian Provinces. By these acquisitions, Napoleon became master of

of the Adriatic; and Austria, shut out all foreign commerce, by of Trieste her sea coast, had been obliged to accept a peace, which, these very causes, could not be lasting.

After consenting to these so advantageous conditions, Napoleon was urgent to quit the country where imitators of Staps might spring up, set before he ratified the preliminaries of peace, announcing his intention of doing on reaching Munich. In all haste, therefore, he repaired to Nymphenburg, where the court of Bavaria waited his arrival; afterwards visited the King of Wirtemberg, whom he found the intellectual sovereign in Europe; and by the end of October was at Fontainebleau. When the Emperor quitted the last place for Paris, he made the distance on horseback, and with such rapidity, that only a single horseman of his whole escort had been able to keep up with him; and, attended by this one guard alone, he entered of the Tuilleries.

I return to intervening events. We have seen, by the decree of the 17th May, that the papal was united to the empire. This was a politic measure, with respect both to Protestants and Catholics; the former beheld the oppression of a feeble old man, the latter in that oppression an insult to the head of their religion. Napoleon again calculated the triple tiara of Rome would easily bend before the double of France, rushed, without consideration, into a violence which he did foresee would both prejudice humanity against him. On the other hand, the Pope miscalculated of resistance, and renewed the papal extravagancies of the ages. I of my agents, yet could scarcely credit veracity of the following document, which, I never it elsewhere, may here gratify and astonish who that a papal excommunication

actually pronounced promulgated against an Emperor of France century

"By the authority of Almighty God, the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, and by Our own, we declare that you, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, and all your abettors, in consequence of outrage which you have committed, have incurred excommunication, under which (according to the form of apostolic bulls, as similar instances, published in the usual places of this city) we declare all those have fallen, who, last horrible invasion of city, which took place on the 22d February last, have committed, well in Rome in the ecclesiastical states, the outrages against which we have remonstrated, not only by the numerous protestations made by our secretary of state, which have been sively replied, but also by our two consistorial instruments of the 14th March, and 11th July, We equally declare excommunicated all those who have been mandataries, abettors, and counsellors, and whoever hath co-operated in the execution of those acts, shall have himself committed them"

In the supposition that the above must have been of the apocryphal writings of the church, I transmitted a copy Fouché, who, in his reply, left me no doubt as to its authenticity. I know also, that, when the Emperor was informed, Vienna, of the moral opposition, the only weapon to which he could resort, employed by the Pope, he shewed uneasiness to the probable consequences of the affair. But, as he never drew back, especially when he found himself engaged on worse side, he explained intentions, to let his devoted partizans seem to act, without compromising himself by positive orders. These I give for certain, the rest known to all world, namely, that, during the night between the 5th and July, the Pope was carried off from Rome by General Radet. The unfortunate pontiff passed from city, for then who

receive the illustrious captive. From Florence, Elisa forwarded him to Turin; from Turin, Prince Borghese expedited him into the interior of France; and, finally, Napoleon sent him back to reside in Savona, under keeping of his brother-in-law; then ingeniously recalling to Prince Borghese, that he owed his rank, before an imperial alliance, to Paul V. the pleasure jaunts, his Holiness's guard of honour was a squad of gendarmes. But in all the varied phases of this troublesome transaction, blameable as it certainly was, the Pope could not easily persuade men that Heaven took pleasure in avenging promptly the crimes of the chief of holy mother church, since the very morning which followed his abduction from the chair of St Peter, lighted up the day of Wagram.

It was at Fontainebleau, during the residence, as mentioned above, which preceded Napoleon's hurried flight into Paris, that Josephine, who had been gone to the emperor, the former place, first heard of the divorce; the design of which Napoleon had again agitated her at Schonbrunn. But I postponed the sorrows and tribulations of the unhappy Josephine, until the time when she herself declared them to me in her prison at Malmaison. It was also at Fontainebleau that Montalivet was named minister of the interior. At this period, the letters from Paris entertained us with perpetual news of the brilliant condition presented by the capital during the winter of 1809-10; and, above all, of the magnificence of the imperial court, where the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Wirtemberg attended the lessons of the Emperor, eager to thank the hero who had elevated them to the rank of sovereigns.

I was the first at Hamburg who received intelligence of the projected marriage of Napoleon with the Archduchess Maria Louisa. This news reached me by two different expresses within two days. The first courier announced merely the intention; the

second, confirming the despatches of the preceding evening, represented this grand alliance as a thing settled. Who would have said of Bonaparte, on the day he pawned [] at my brother's, that the [] of an Archduchess of Austria awaited him? [] fantastic, prodigious, inexplicable, in his destiny. At the same time, it is impossible to describe the [] produced by that event in the north of Germany. From all parts, merchants received orders to purchase Austrian stock, in which an extraordinary rise took place immediately. The joy [] universal and deeply felt; the confidence of long [] seemed confirmed; the hope of a termination [] the bloody rivalry of France and Austria appeared certain; and, if I may judge by the intelligence received from the interior of France, and other countries, the sentiment [] the same throughout. Whilst all [] thus [] in [] reflections awakened by [] alliance, the Emperor caused notification to be made [] the different [] of Europe, that [] grand-duchy of Frankfort [] been ceded [] Prince Eugene, the prince primate having constituted [] his heir.

We have already seen, that, in [] 1810, broke out the difference between Napoleon and his brother Louis, [] Holland [] then united to the empire. This province [] received the visit of [] empress. The journey took place immediately after the pompous ceremonies of [] marriage [] Paris, on the 2d of April. Napoleon returned to Compeigne, where he had first met his bride on the 28th of March, and remained there with her eight days. Afterwards he set out for St Quentin, once more visited the canal, and was rejoined by the Empress [] Louisa. After visiting various parts of Hol[] and Belgium, the greatest rejoicings every where [] their approach, they returned, by way of Ostend, Lilla, and Normandy, to [] Cloud, on the [] June, 1810.

Notwithstanding the universal sincere joy occasioned by the event just narrated, with England and Spain still continued, and increased misery arising from the Continental System, which every day augmented. The Hanse towns had refused to pay the French soldiers, who neither money nor necessaries. There was to be a tax to all cities; from these towns, the flourishing through commerce, that source of wealth being dried up, nothing could be extracted. Present want, and former exactions, rendered them unable to satisfy this unjust requisition. Holland, again, utterly ruined by the anti-social system, which, in the end, proved the ruin, or principal cause of ruin, to its author. In this state of things, the spirits of men were kept in perpetual agitation and uncertainty, by the almost daily promulgation of decrees of the senate, announcing the union of states to the empire. During the present year, since the treaty of Schönbrunn, the limits of imperial France had thus been extended by the swallowing up of small nations on all sides, and seemed progressively and indefinitely advancing. In the midst of this complication of distress, minds were filled with a desperate hatred, by a decree, which I cannot call other than infernal, issued by Napoleon, and worthy of the darkest age of barbarism, commanding the destruction of all the colonial products and manufactures of England, throughout the empire, and wherever his power could enforce this mad sacrifice. In the interior of France, this was enough; but the conception was formed of the desolation thus wrought in commercial districts. What a cruel thing to burn, in quantities, before men's eyes, the very articles—the first necessities of life—for which they were starving? The insane was urged by impatient animosity against England, rendered still fiercer by the capture of the Isle of France, which she had just gained possession. To prevent

such miserable devastation in the north, I proposed to the Emperor, to admit such colonial produce as might be bonded in Holstein, ■ ■ ■ *ad valorem* ■ ■ ■ duty of thirty, and upon some articles forty, per ■ ■ ■ I knew the holders would willingly agree to ■ ■ ■ a legal duty not ■ ■ ■ than ■ ■ ■ expense of smuggling, while ■ ■ ■ consequent risk ■ ■ ■ removed, and, by this measure, which fortunately ■ ■ ■ conceded, a saving to the treasury accrued of forty millions (£1,600,000.)

CHAPTER II

BERNADOTTE ELECTED PRINCE OF SWEDEN—
 BONAPARTE—SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS BE-
 TWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE SWEDISH PRINCE—
 HANSE INVITED TO THE EMPEROR'S TABLE—
 DISMISSED—HIS RESIDENCE IN PARIS, AND IN-
 TRODUCTION WITH JOSEPHINE—LA SALLE ATTEMPTS
 TO ASSASSINATE NAPOLEON—HIS SINGULAR CON-
 FESSIONS—DAVOUST AT HAMBURG—LETTER AND
 BLACK CABINET—FOUCHE DISGRACED—SAVARY
 MINISTER—AFFAIRS IN THE PENINSULA—JOSE-
 PHINE'S PRESENTIMENT OF EVENTS—MURAT'S
 GRIEVANCES—BIRTH OF THE KING OF
 ROMANES—ECOLESIASTICAL COUNCIL—ANECDOTES OF PIUS VII
 —EMPEROR AND EMPRESS SET OUT FOR

BERNADOTTE had just been elected Prince-Royal of Sweden; and this brings me to a circumstance in my life which I recall with the greatest satisfaction,—the prince's residence with me at Hamburg, the way to the capital of his future kingdom. But it will be necessary to review the antecedent events, in order to explain how the opposer of the 18th Brumaire came to be seated on the throne of Sweden. On the 13th March, 1809, Gustavus Adolphus was arrested. I omit the circumstances, though these would occupy a large space in the history of a period less fruitful in great events. The duke of Sudermania, uncle to the king, assumed the reins of a provisional government, and Gustavus, a few days after, gave in an act of abdication, which, in the eyes of Sweden, in both foreign and domestic relations, he could not

withhold. ■ the ■ May following, ■
 ■ ■ elected king by the ■ diet, ■
 voked ■ ■ monarch had an only
 ■ Prince Christian Augustus, who thus became
 Prince-Royal ■ Sweden, from the fact of his father's
 ■ to the throne. ■ suddenly ■ and
 ■ May, 1810, and Count Ferson, who, ■ the ■
 of ■ Antoinette, ■ formerly been known as
 the " Handsome Ferson," ■ massacred by the popu-
 lace, ■ ready to believe ■ the count ■ hastened
 the prince's death. On the 21st of August following,
 Bernadotte ■ elected, ■ his room, Prince-Royal of
 Sweden

To return ■ Gustavus Adolphus, the last king :
 On the 13th January, 1810, this prince arrived in
 Hamburg, the place appointed for his temporary
 sojourn. He travelled incognito, under the name
 of Count Gottorp, accompanied by Major-General
 Skyoldebrand, of the Swedish service. This gentleman
 called upon me next day, and, in the course of this
 visit, stated that Count Gottorp had suddenly enter-
 tained the idea, that the castle purchased for his
 residence ■ Switzerland was designed for his prison,
 and had declared his intention of expediting a courier
 ■ the king, his uncle, with a refusal ■ proceed. But
 better counsels induced the count to ■ on, and
 especially the advice of the countess, who supported
 her ■ of fortune with ■ resignation ■ angelic,
 that ■ would have been tempted to say, she joyed
 ■ being afflicted. Had he persisted, it would have
 much embarrassed all parties.

Count Wrede made the first overtures ■ Paris ■
 Bernadotte ; who, after this interview, repaired to St
 Cloud. Napoleon listened coldly ■ ■ recital, ■
 replied, " that he could be of no service to him : ■
 ■ must take their course : and that he might
 ■ or refuse, ■ vated him : that he, for his part,
 would place no obstacle in his way, neither would
 he give any advice." But of the Emperor's being

violently opposed to [redacted] choice, there can be no question; and, though disavowing such a proceeding, [redacted] certainly used his endeavours in favour of the Prince-Royal of Denmark. Bernadotte, in the interval, visited the springs of Plombières, and soon after announced to [redacted] that his election [redacted] taken place. [redacted] [redacted] I received on the 22d August, the announcement being in the following terms:—

"My [redacted] Minister,—This letter will [redacted] presented to you by [redacted] de Signeul, Swedish consul-general [redacted] Paris, [redacted] precedes me by some days. I recommend him particularly to you. Have the goodness to receive him with your [redacted] kindness. You will [redacted] much pleased with him. I hope in a very little [redacted] have the pleasure of seeing you. Meanwhile I [redacted] the assurance of my sincere and affectionate sentiments.

"JOHN, P. R. of Sweden.

"P. S.—I request you to present my compliments to Madame; friendship to my little cousin,* [redacted] to your amiable family."

All on a sudden, exchange fell greatly against Russia, which [redacted] attributed [redacted] this election, Alexander having supported the Prince of Denmark. The [redacted] sternation at [redacted] Petersburg, however, which certainly did exist, proceeded less from the choice itself, than from [redacted] apprehension [redacted] it [redacted] been influenced by France.

Bernadotte reached Hamburg [redacted] the 11th October, [redacted] remained with [redacted] almost entirely during [redacted] three days of his stay. Our conversation was interesting in the extreme. [redacted] ventured first to speak [redacted] unfavourable reports concerning the Prince's conduct [redacted] Wagram. [redacted] took my frankness in good part, and answered, in the same strain: "The Em-

* One of Bourrienne's daughters, then a child, whom Bernadotte took a pleasure in so naming.—*Translator.*

person refused to see me, and assigned as his reason, that he was astonished and indignant, that, complaints, of which I could not but know the justice, I continued to boast of having gained battle, published felicitations he had caused to be pronounced ridiculous by all those who are jealous of his superiority of others." Bernadotte then shewed his bulletin, and the private order issued respecting it by the Emperor, as follow. —

"On imperial camp of Schoenbrunn, July, 1809.—His majesty expresses his disapprobation of Marshal Prince de Ponte Corvo's order, dated from Leopoldstadt, the 7th of July, which was inserted almost all the journals of the date, in the following terms —

'Saxons' In the battle of the 6th July, from to eight thousand of you penetrated the centre of the enemy's army, and advanced to Duth Wagram, in spite of the opposition of forty thousand men, supported by sixty pieces of cannon, you continued the combat till midnight, and bivouacked in the midst of the Austrian lines. On the 6th, daybreak, you recommenced the contest with the same perseverance, and, amid the ravages of artillery, your living columns remained immovable. The great Napoleon your devotedness, and ranks you his brave Saxons' the fortune of a soldier consists in fulfilling his duties, you have worthily performed yours
 BERNADOTTE

"As his majesty commands his army a person, to him belongs the exclusive right of assigning degree of glory which each merits his majesty gives of his arms to the French troops, and not strangers. Prince Ponte Corvo's order of day, tending to give false pretensions to troops, is best not above mediocrity, is contrary to truth, discipline, and to national The success of the battle of

MEMOIRS OF

5th is due to Marshals duke of Rivoli (Massena) and Oudinot, who pierced the centre at the same time that the corps of the Duke of Nurestadt was taken during the battle of 5th; and not till 6th, by Oudinot. The corps of the Prince of Ponte Corvo did not remain immovable as iron. It was the first corps of his majesty obliged to cover it by the corps of the guard, the division commanded by Macdonald; by the division of heavy cavalry by General Nautsonby; and by a part of the cavalry of the guard. To the Prince of Ponte Corvo belongs the praise which the Prince of Ponte Corvo arrogates to himself. His majesty desires that this testimony of displeasure may serve as an example to every marshal, not to attribute to himself the glory which belongs to others. His majesty, however, not to afflict the army, desires that this order remain secret, be sent only to the marshals commanding army corps.

NAPOLEON."

I could not help remarking, on the reading of these documents, that, though the Emperor had kept his order secret, I was, in the main, right; and that I had heard of my one, holding a subordinate command, issuing a bulletin in presence of his chief. Bernadotte replied to my objection, and, I thought, explained the circumstance to his advantage. But, however important these papers, the prince's communications respecting his election, and subsequent correspondence with the Emperor, were interesting. On returning from Plombières, I presented myself to the imperial levee, when the Emperor, addressing him, asked, in presence of all, if I had any news from Sweden? On receiving a reply in the affirmative, I inquired farther, "What say they?"—"Sire, my intelligence from your majesty's envoy is—"

opposes my election, and that your majesty, though I do not credit the report, gives the preference to the King of Denmark.—At these words," *Madotte*, "he *surprised*, which you know I can do so well, *me* that was impossible, and gave me *turn* to the conversation. Really, I do *know* what to think of him in the present circumstances. I know he loves me not; but policy may render me favourable to Sweden; *his* present *of* grandeur *power*, I deemed *my* duty to make all sacrifices of personal feeling, to maintain good intelligence between *empire* *Sweden*. I call God *witness*, however, that I never will compromise *Swedish*. At first," pursued the Prince, "he spoke in the best terms of the king and me, made no proposition inducing me not to accept of the succession to the Swedish throne, and caused to *inserted* in *Moniteur* without delay the act of my election. Ten days had passed without the *saying* a word about *departure*. I was anxious to set out; my preparations were finished, and I resolved *seeing* him, to request the delivery of my letters-patent absolving me from my oath of fidelity, which, in spite of all his injustice to me, I preserved inviolate towards him. He appeared at *surprised* at *positive* request, which, perhaps, he did not expect. After a slight *of* hesitation, he said, 'There is *preliminary* *condition* to fulfil: a question of deep import has *started* by a member of *privy council*.'—'What condition, sire?'—'That of taking an oath never to bear arms against me.'—'Is your majesty in earnest? Can I bind myself by such an engagement? My election by *of* Sweden, the consent given by your majesty, both to *XIII*, and *myself*, have made me a Swedish subject, and that capacity *incompatible* with *pledge* mentioned by a member of the privy council,—I say a member of *council*, sire, because your majesty has said so,

—and certain I am, such a proposal could never have come from yourself. It ~~can~~ have originated only with the arch-chancellor or the grand judge, who certainly have not considered the elevation to which they would thus raise me.'—'What mean you?'—'If, sire, they prevent me from accepting a crown, unless I take an engagement never to bear arms against your majesty, is not that really to place me on a level with you as a general?'

"When I declared to ~~him~~ positively that, ~~upon~~ my election, I must regard myself in no other light ~~than~~ as a Swedish subject, he frowned, and generally, during the time I spoke to him, in ~~terms~~ which I ~~have~~ have been reported faithfully, he looked embarrassed; his confusion, in fact, was such, that when I had finished speaking, he replied, but in a tone of voice so altered, that I scarcely heard him, 'Well! go; our destinies are ~~to~~ be accomplished.' These words he pronounced so indistinctly, that I ~~was~~ obliged to crave pardon for requesting a repetition; 'Go!' said he again, 'our destinies will speedily be accomplished.'"

These two singular destinies are, in fact, fulfilled. Identified with the customs, the habits, the ~~manners~~ of his people, Charles John enjoys one of the most tranquil reigns to be found in the history of Sweden; while Napoleon, after having vanquished, and struck terror into the world, beheld his fortune pass away, and fell for ever from his high estate. ~~These~~ will always ~~be~~ respective ~~of~~ of these sovereigns who ~~make~~ pretensions on their sword, and those who establish their glory on the interests of their people.

"In other conversations which I ~~had~~ with the Emperor," continued Bernadotte, "I really did every thing possible to remove the unjust impressions ~~which~~ conceived against me, and at ~~last~~ thought I had succeeded. After hearing ~~me~~ attentively, he ~~with~~ hand, pressed mine kindly, as ~~if~~ assure me of his friendship and protection; in such a

manner, too, that, despite my knowledge of the man, my assumed frankness was so natural, for some time I deemed my erroneous prejudices dispelled, and even forced myself to entertain this idea. I spoke in similar terms to those through whom our two families are united, entreating them to assure his majesty the perfect reciprocity of my sentiments, how earnestly I inclined to do every thing, contrary to the interests of Sweden, in order to frustrate all grand schemes.

"Did you believe it, my good friend,—these persons laughed at my credulity, in return for my frank confessions? They told me, that, scarcely had I seen the imperial presence, when the Emperor said to them, that I was an ambitious man poorly disguised, who had just made a grand display of knowledge; that he had humoured me like a child, and laughed in his sleeve. He wished, in fact, to inspire me with perfect confidence, so that I might be thrown off my guard; for, after thus deceiving, I learned, as a certain fact, that he designed to arrest me. I dared not do so; the proof of which is, that Davoust, believing he told something acceptable, said to him one day, before several witnesses, about the time that my election was made of, 'The prince of Ponte Corvo is quite confident.'—'He is yet elected,' replied the Emperor.

"But," continued Bernadotte, "notwithstanding these proofs of hostility nourished against me by the Emperor since the 18th Brumaire, I am not without my intentions against Sweden; I plainly perceive, that, even there, I shall no longer be in any political relations. I must farther say he has given me two millions for my principality, one paid down, (£42,000,) which has been of great use for the expenses of my journey and maintenance. I must also tell you, that the day I was getting into my carriage, a certain person, whom you will not name, came to me and said, 'goodbye,'

and to what [redacted] passed [redacted] the Tuileries. The person having [redacted] the palace, the Emperor, on his entrance, accosted him with—'Well, does not the Prince regret leaving France?'—'Yes, most unquestionably, sire.'—'As for my part, I would have been very well pleased had he not accepted his election. But how soon I interfere? After all, [redacted] loves me not!'—'Sire, permit me to say, your majesty is there in error; I know [redacted] differences which have existed for six years between [redacted] your majesty; but I know also, [redacted] he [redacted] warmly attached to you.'—'Well, well; I am willing [redacted] believe it may [redacted] so; but [redacted] have [redacted] understood each other; now, it is too late; he has his interests and policy, and I have mine.'

"Such," added the Prince, "were the [redacted] words of the Emperor as concerned me, only two hours before I left Paris; as to the rest, my friend was right. Yes, my dear Bourrienne, I [redacted] regret France; and, [redacted] for Bonaparte's unkindness, [redacted] [redacted] have left my native country: my situation there sufficed for a soldier of fortune; and, if ever I ascend [redacted] throne of Sweden, [redacted] owe my crown to [redacted]."

During the three days which the Prince passed [redacted] [redacted] much conversation on [redacted] Continental System. [redacted] knew the obstinate [redacted] of Napoleon on that head. When he asked [redacted] what I thought of the treaty of the 1st January, 1810, by which Sweden had bound herself to the observance of this system, I was aware he asked my opinion only to [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]. I gave [redacted] without hesitation, which [redacted] reader already knows was against the system. "Sell your iron," [redacted] I, "your timber,

* Though both Bernadotte and Bourrienne labour here to fix the charge of duplicity upon Bonaparte, the reader will at once acknowledge, that the actions of the Emperor, and the [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] are strangely [redacted] variance. — [redacted]

hides, and pitch; [redacted] [redacted] return salt, wines, spirits, and colonial produce, of which you stand in need; you will thus gain the affection, instead of incurring [redacted] hatred, of your [redacted] subjects."

Since we have proceeded thus far in the history of Bernadotte's rise, [redacted] may continue [redacted] narrative through the subsequent phases of his intercourse with Napoleon. The latter [redacted] beheld, [redacted] no gracious aspect, [redacted] events [redacted] related: [redacted] easily divined, from the character of the former, that in him he should not possess a political puppet, nor one who would bend [redacted] the theory of conduct prescribed to French princes, and developed, with [redacted] much naïveté of despotism, [redacted] [redacted] letters [redacted] Louis. [redacted] [redacted] discontent [redacted] not long in breaking out into open rupture. The Emperor had permitted the Crown Prince to carry with him, for at least one year, those French officers attached to his staff, in the quality of aides-de-camp. This permission was retracted almost immediately after; indeed, as Bernadotte stated in his letter, "while he [redacted] just thinking of writing to thank [redacted] imperial majesty for the favour." This letter changed into decided resentment [redacted] [redacted] humour of Napoleon; he repented having granted permission of departure, and stated, before the courtiers, "that he had a great mind to send the Crown Prince to finish at Vincennes his studies in [redacted] [redacted] language." Bernadotte received information of [redacted] threat, yet could not believe that such a design would be attempted to be executed. The attempt, however, was made, but it fortunately proved fruitless. [redacted] [redacted] discovered that a plot had been contrived by [redacted] [redacted] of foreign desperadoes to carry off [redacted] Prince from the neighbourhood of Haga; and the conspirators [redacted] constrained [redacted] embark [redacted] their prey.

At the same time, [redacted] Emperor took possession [redacted] [redacted] Pomerania [redacted] the [redacted] [redacted] Rugen, by a [redacted] of the army under command of Davoust.

Upon this the Prince wrote a temperate but firm letter, requesting an explanation:—

"Sire,—Information has just arrived, advertising me that an army division, under the orders of the Prince of Eckmühl, (Darnst,) invaded the territory of Swedish Pomerania, on the night of the 26th and 27th of January—that this said division has continued its march—has entered the capital of the duchy, taken possession of the isle of Rugen. The King expects that your majesty will explain the reasons which have engaged you to act in a manner so directly opposed to the spirit of existing treaties. My relations of old with your majesty authorise me to beseech you to declare your motives without delay, in order that I may be enabled to give to the King my opinion as to the conduct which Sweden ought to adopt for the future. This gratuitous outrage committed against Sweden is profoundly felt by the nation, and still more deeply, sire, by me, to whom I confided the honour of defending her interests. Although I have contributed to the triumphs of France, though I have ever desired to see her respected and happy, it never could have entered my thought to sacrifice the interests, the honour, and the national independence of the country which I adopted. Your majesty is an excellent judge of what is right, and has already divined this solution. Although I am not jealous of the glory and power which environ you, sire, I am sensible of dishonour when regarded as a vassal. Your majesty rules over a greater portion; but your dominion extends to the state which I have been called to govern. My ambition is bounded, and I desire only to see the nation which I regard as entrusted to me by providence. The invasion produced upon the people by the invasion of which I complain, may be followed by incalculable results; and, though no Coriolanus, commanding Volscians, I have a suffi-

ciently good opinion of the [redacted] to assure you, sire, that they are capable of daring all, and of undertaking all, to avenge insults [redacted] they have not provoked, and to preserve their rights, to which they are perfectly [redacted] strongly attached [redacted] to their existence."

I was in Paris [redacted] the time when the Emperor received [redacted] communication, and know, that, on perusing it, he became as if frantic, and cried out, "[redacted] your degradation, or [redacted] with arms [redacted] your hands!" No answer being received to [redacted] remonstrances, the King of [redacted] [redacted] the necessity of breaking entirely with France; and, unable [redacted] support a neutrality, on [redacted] fermentation which [redacted] after the disastrous campaign of Moscow, joined, as we shall see, the alliance of England and Russia.

As the Crown Prince had remained with me in October, I had the honour of entertaining also the Princess, who merely passed through [redacted] the 4th December, on her way [redacted] join her husband. She remained, however, [redacted] a very short time, only two months, I think, in Stockholm: the ancient Scandinavia was [redacted] to her [redacted] I may here, too, just mention, as a proof of Bernadotte's good dispositions towards France, in the [redacted] place, that [redacted] [redacted] against England [redacted] month after [redacted] arrival as Crown Prince. In truth it was not till constrained by the Emperor's unjustifiable aggression that the Prince-Royal declared to that power, and to Russia, that war existed between [redacted] and Sweden. Upon that occasion, Count Lewenhjelm, aide-de-camp [redacted] King of Sweden, was the bearer [redacted] a letter from [redacted] Prince-Royal to Alexander, which stated, "that [redacted] occupation of [redacted] Pomerania by French troops, and [redacted] successive occupation of [redacted] shores [redacted] the Baltic, by [redacted] once violating treaties, and shewing that no [redacted] could be put in any for the future, had induced [redacted] King of Sweden [redacted] send the bearer, [redacted] possessed his entire confidence, and would explain

views of the Emperor." The letter concluded with these remarkable words:—"In the midst of universal despondency, all eyes are turned upon your imperial majesty,—they are already fixed upon you, sire, with the confidence of hope. But permit me to observe to your majesty, that in all events there is nothing equal to the magic effect of the Emperor's instant; while its influence endures, all depends upon him who has the power of acting. Men's spirits, struck with astonishment, become incapable of reflection, and all yield to the impulse of the charm which they fear, and by which they are impressed." The letter also replies to reports that had been spread abroad of Russia having sought the alliance of Sweden, while, as we have just seen, it was the latter who claimed the support of the former power, forced to that step by the unanswerable law of necessity. When, for the first time, the fortune of Napoleon had failed, he sent Bernadotte after the campaign of Moscow.

To the Emperor's advances, in the shape of diplomatic notes, the Prince-Royal replied in respectful but measured terms: "Expressing the sentiments of attachment with which he had quitted France; that in Sweden he had found these amiable dispositions towards the French empire which his subjects; and that friendship had been turned into suspicion, and then hostility, by the French ambassador at Stockholm, who had assumed the part of a Russian proconsul, forgetting that he was not to dictate to slaves. During twenty years, the human race has suffered too much: your glory is at its height; and if your majesty desires the King of Sweden to intimate to the Emperor Alexander, the possibility of an arrangement, I am sure that monarch's magnanimity, and his willingness to concede whatever is equitable, both for your empire and for the north. Such be your majesty's sentiments, the benedictions of the Continent will be in heaven for your favour. Sire, one of

happiest moment of my life, since I left France, was that in which I was assured your majesty had not entirely forgotten me. You have only done justice to my [redacted] of attachment; they [redacted] consecrated by the brilliant achievements of [redacted] brotherhood [redacted] arms; and, though [redacted] Swede by honour, by duty, [redacted] by religion, [redacted] [redacted] I forget our beautiful France: yet never will I sacrifice [redacted] least of the interests of [redacted] country which has adopted me, with confidence unlimited." [redacted] [redacted] of the principal relations [redacted] I know [redacted] have taken place between Napoleon and [redacted] Prince-Royal of Sweden, in the interval between the elevation of the latter and the [redacted] [redacted] empire.

But my [redacted] sojourn in the north had now drawn to [redacted] close; the hour of the Hanse Towns, like that of Venice, had struck. On the 8th December, I received [redacted] honeyed missive from the minister for foreign affairs, that "the Emperor wished [redacted] consult [redacted] respecting affairs in Germany, where the information I had acquired promised to be useful [redacted] the public service,—a consideration which would prove my sweetest recompense," and concluding with a high eulogium on the manner in which I had fulfilled my duties. On the morrow I was off for Paris. On arriving [redacted] Mayence, I met a courier, who announced, that [redacted] Hanse Towns were united to the empire. So much for the value put upon my information with regard to them. [redacted] Bonaparte fairly outplayed [redacted] here; like Moreau, I broke [redacted] against the Tuileries, and had no audience. Only the very first *Moniteur* I read, informed [redacted] that my diplomatic functions had ceased, by the union [redacted] the empire of six [redacted] departments, with Hamburg [redacted] their capital. However, I [redacted] my revenge. This [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] northward excited [redacted] strongly [redacted] growing displeasure of Russia, which [redacted] broke into [redacted] hostility, notwithstanding the whitewashed friendship of the two Emperors. In short, [redacted] Con-

the System destroying every kind of trade in the parts of the Baltic, reciprocal accusations of bad faith between [] and [] united Russia [] England, and brought on that famous war, the fatal issue of which was so exquisitely characterised by Talleyrand, as "the beginning of the end."

The Emperor, instead of admitting [] audience, had given certain directions, as follows, to [] minister for foreign affairs, the commission being faithfully discharged by [] de Champagny, [] of [] conferences. "The Emperor," [] that excellent person, "has given [] in charge the [] which I [] deliver:—'When you [] Bourrienne, say I wish him to replenish your coffers with six millions, (£250,000,) to pay for building the [] palace of foreign affairs.'" Astonished [] this brutal demand, I could at first make no answer: the minister naturally desired to know what he should []. I was still silent,—he insisted. "Well, then, tell [] he may go to the devil!" The minister very naturally declined having any concern with such a []. I would give [] other reply; and, [] I afterwards learned from Duroc, the Duke de Cadore was absolutely constrained to deliver the laconic [] above. "Well, Champagny," said Napoleon, "have you seen Bourrienne?"—"Yes, sire."—" [] you tell him [] the six millions I wish him to refund [] you?"—"Yes, sire."—"What was his []?"—"Sire, I beg [] be excused repeating it."—" [] he? I desire to know."—"Since your majesty insists, [] Bourrienne said, ' [] your majesty might go [] the devil!'"—"Ah! ah! he [] no, [] he?" Upon this, the Emperor retired into the embrasure of a window, and there continued for [] eight minutes quite alone, biting his thumbs, and doubtless giving free scope to his projects of vengeance; but, after reflecting, he [] forward, and spoke [] the minister about something else. Bonaparte, however, continued to cherish the idea of making me pay; []

every time he passed the building, remarked to those present, "Bourrienne must certainly [] for that."

At Paris, of all the [] transactions which [] place, what chiefly engaged my attention was [] marriage of the Emperor; and whoever places [] in my situation, will conceive the tenor [] my reflections, when I thought of my ancient [] comrade, beginning life with views hardly equal to my own, urged on by his fate, and now son-in-law to the Emperor of Germany.* Berthier had [] to Vienna to espouse by proxy the [] Empress of [] French; before him, M. de Laborde, a discreet man, and chamberlain, [] been charged with [] [] overtures for this alliance, while Napoleon [] yet uncertain whether he should throw the imperial handkerchief [] a princess of Saxony, Russia, or Austria. When [] was settled in favour of the court of Vienna, which has given us many queens to France, and generally with misfortune for their dowry, the presenting of the Empress [] Louisa to French commissioners took place at Braunau; and the ceremonial to be observed [] this occasion [] a curious document, when we think of the [] of [] Helena, [] General Neiperg become *factotum* [] the Grand Duchess of Parma and Placenza.† [] [] divorce, the Pope required that all [] religious formalities should [] observed: they [] so, at [] all [] [] of the church, which occasioned a delay of several months. The procedure [] terminated, and the [] rendered by M. [] Boileve, grand [] of the Archbishop of Paris. [] may serve [] shew how Bonaparte, [] this period, respected []

* Bourrienne delights to harp on this alliance, forgetting [] Napoleon, — the creator of his own fortunes, the imperial [] of the woman who had loved him when possessor only of a cloak and a sword, occupied an infinitely higher grade in that real honour which is courted by every noble heart, than when he condescended to borrow extrinsic splendour. — *Translator.*

† See Appendix, 'A.'

laws in his private life, that a considerable sum was required for public proceedings were paid — the treasury had its dues, but the private claims of the legal profession were not discharged; only the grand order of Réunion was sent to Boislevé, who, of his honour, concealed it as long as he dared. This order, in fact, was enjoyed any respect in France.

Notwithstanding my disgrace, old friends, who were of honour, received me as before. Among these was General Duroc, who, though devoted to the Emperor, scorned the blind attachment which was of all. He had not witnessed without displeasure the Emperor's divorce; he often spoke of the Emperor as a man for the future, and informed me that the Emperor himself had not taken the step without a degree of dread.* From Duroc's frequent conversations, when he could steal an hour from his occupations to see me, I give the following details:—

On returning from the last Austrian campaign, Napoleon, as already mentioned, stopped at Fontainebleau, and Josephine there joined him. For the time, the communication which had previously united his quarters with his wife's apartments was shut up, by his order. While I lived as one of the household, their domestic arrangements had been more direct — Bonaparte's bedchamber, as the reader knows, having been only an apartment of ceremony. Josephine did not deceive herself as to the progress to be deduced from this conjugal separation. Duroc, having been sent for one day, found her alone, and in tears. — "I am undone," said she, in a tone, the recollection of which still moved Duroc; "I am undone! all is now over with me! How hide my

* It is reported, on the authority of an attendant of the Empress, that Josephine, endeavouring to turn her husband from his fatal design of divorce, said to him with the greatest tenderness and solemnity of manner, "Bonaparte, remember! To my husband not I there, I can give been promised!" — *Translator.*

shame! You, Duroc, have always been my friend,—you and Rapp: neither of you advised him to separate from me; my enemies have done this,—Savary, Junot, and others: alas! they are more his enemies than mine. And my poor Eugene! what will become of him when he knows I am repudiated by an ingrate? Yes, Duroc; ungrateful he is. My God! my God! what shall we do?" Josephine convulsively, while speaking, seized Duroc; I myself witnessed the scene which she wept over the separation.

Before the singular demand of the Emperor of Champagne, I had requested Duroc to ask the Emperor why he would not see me. The grand marshal of the household faithfully delivered my commission; but all the answer returned was in these ironical words,—“Ah, truly, have I nothing else to do than give an audience to Bourrienne? that would make all Paris a-buzzing. At Hamburg, he always took the part of the emigrants. He would speak to me of former times; he is for Josephine! My wife is near being brought to bed, Duroc. I shall have a son, I am certain of it!—Bourrienne is now antiquated; since his departure, I have made grand strides. I don't wish to see him; besides, it would be useless. He is a grumbler; he is so by character; and besides, you know, my good Duroc, I love him not!”

My position in Paris thus became one of extreme delicacy; this refusal of the Emperor to see me cast something questionable on my relations with society, and at first I hesitated before visiting Josephine. Rapp, too, much to my sorrow, was absent: he only played a slight part in the ceremonial of the nuptials; but, having ventured some remarks on the Fauxbourg St Germain, of which his marriage had conceived him the conqueror, he had been ordered to the governorship of Dantzic. Duroc, however, having assured me that Napoleon would not take such a visit amiss, I wrote the Empress,

requesting leave to pay my respects. Josephine's reply arrived the same day, and, on the next, I repaired to [redacted]. Alas! under what circumstances, [redacted] what recollections [redacted] I now revisit this retreat. How many sweet and bitter remembrances crowded upon my mind, while passing through the veranda in front to the small circular drawing-room, where I found Josephine walking with her daughter Hortense. On entering, Josephine held out her hand to me, pronouncing only these words, "Well, my friend!" But the tone was one of [redacted] profound emotion, that, [redacted] moment, the [redacted] vibrate upon my heart; [redacted] prevented her saying [redacted]. Seating herself on an ottoman, placed [redacted] of the fire, she motioned [redacted] to take my [redacted] [redacted] her; while Hortense remained still [redacted] ing, leaning against the mantel-piece, [redacted] vainly endeavouring to hide her [redacted].

Josephine had taken one of my hands, which I pressed between her own, for a long wept in silence, unable to utter a single word; at length, recovering a little command in her feelings, she said, "My good Bourrienne, I have suffered the full of my misfortune. He me off— empty of Empress conferred by him only rendered my disgrace the more painful. Ah! how truly did we estimate him! I del myself in my fate; for whom would he not sacrifice his ambition?" At the attendant on Queen Hortense entered, announcing a visitor to her royal mistress, who remained a few moments longer, to recover from the effects of the distress under which she was too visibly labouring, and then left us alone—a situation alike desired by both: for Josephine sought relief in disclosing her sorrows, and I longed to hear, from her own lips, the story of her misfortunes and Women throw a touching into her griefs.

Josephine confirmed what I learned from Duroc, respecting the shutting up of the communication between the sleeping apartments in the palace of Fontainebleau; then, coming to the period when Bonaparte disclosed to her the necessity of a separation, she thus continued:—"You, my good Bourrienne, were for years a witness of what passed between us—you saw all, knew all, heard all; you are that I never had a secret from you, but you my forebodings. I accomplished my resolution, too, with a cruelty of which you can form no idea. I have played, to the end, my part of wife, in the world. I have endured all—and am resigned." At these words, one of those melancholy wanderings crossed Josephine's countenance, which is only of woman's suffering, and so inexpressibly affecting.—"In what self-constraint did I pass that time in which, though no longer his wife, I was obliged to appear so to the world! My looks, my friend, were those which courtiers allow to appear upon a divorced wife! What stupor, what uncertainty, more cruel than death, did I live, from that period to the fatal day in which he avowed to me the thoughts I had so long read in his countenance; it was the 5th of November. What an expression he wore on that day; how many sinister things appeared in his looks! We dined together as usual; I struggled with my tears, which, despite every effort, overflowed from my eyes. I said not a single word during that sorrowful meal, but he broke silence but once, to ask the attendants about the weather. My sunshine I thus passed away; the storm was coming—and it burst quickly. Immediately after coffee, Bonaparte dismissed every one, and I remained alone with him. What an expression, Bourrienne! what a look he had! I watched, in the alterations of his features, the struggle which was in his soul; at length I saw my hour had come. His whole frame

trembled; I felt a shuddering horror come upon mine. He approached; took my hand; placed it on his heart; gazed upon me for a moment, without speaking: at last let fall these dreadful words:—“Josephine! my excellent Josephine! thou art the only happiness which I have enjoyed in this world. Josephine! my destiny is in my will. My dearest affections are for the silent interests of France.”—“Say no more,” I had strength sufficient to reply; “I was prepared for this; I understand you; but the blow is mortal.” More I could not utter,” pursued Josephine; “I cannot tell what passed within me; I believe my screams were loud: I thought reason had fled; I remained unconscious of every thing; and, returning to my senses, found I had been carried to my chamber. Your friend, Corvisart, will tell you, better than I can, what afterwards occurred; for, on recovering, I perceived he and my poor daughter with Bonaparte returned to visit me in the evening. No, Boarrienne, you cannot imagine the horror with which the sight of him, at that moment, inspired me; the interest which he took to take in my sufferings seemed to me additional cruelty. Oh! God! how justly had I reason to dread ever becoming an Empress!”

I sincerely pitied Josephine, yet knew not what consolation to give. Of course I could not alleviate her sorrows, that to which she seemed alive was public reprobation pronounced against Bonaparte's proceedings in this manner. Here I told her nothing but the truth. Josephine was universally beloved; she had become a popular belief, that the good fortune of France depended upon her presence; and it could be confessed, that events subsequent to this illustrious alliance, were of a nature to accredit this superstition. I recollect also, while at Hamburg, my correspondence reached me from various quarters,

showing, that a vague feeling—an anticipation undefined, yet generally prevalent, beheld a misfortune for France in the of her with of Austria: union rise comparisons with the fate of Antoinette; and, there only unexpected to give consistency weight to a received prejudice, which happened at given by Prince Schwartzemberg, the Austrian envoy at Paris, was pronounced he a counterpart of the accidents occurred the marriage of the Dauphin of France with of Maria Louisa.

Such considerations, however, were but a feeble solace to the grief of Josephine, who, from the depths of her affectionate heart, sent forth vows for Bonaparte. I recalled to her the predictions which I ventured in fortunate times. "My friend, I never forgot them; I have often thought of you said to me in those days: why did he listen to you? As for me, I had foreseen that lost from the time he made himself Emperor. Adieu, Bourrienne; and me,—come often; have much about, and you are aware of the pleasure with which I receive you." Such our interview, and the reader I did neglect the parting invitation.

In speaking of the attempt of Staps to assassinate Napoleon Schœnbrunn, I mentioned another of the kind, little known, and with which I had become perfectly acquainted. I had been about two months in Paris when young La arrived, February, 1811, and was arrested on the Sunday following, accused of having come from Saxony on purpose to kill the Emperor. La Sabla, on being examined, expressed a desire to me, assigning reason the reputation I at Leipsic when a student there, and latterly in Germany during my mission. I have reason believe, Emperor permitted interview; the minister of police,

Savary, who had replaced Fouché, requested me to see me at his private office. This was about half past nine in the morning. I was in the cabinet a young man, or eighteen years of age, and with him M. Desmarêts. Young La Sahla, with much politeness, expressed a wish to converse with me, and I insisted on being left alone with the prisoner, threatening to retire if any thing but a judiciary investigation was to be given to me interview. Desmarêts politely retired, and the guard took his post outside. We conversed in German, though the young Saxon spoke French very well: he was thankful for this indulgence, and said, "I feel I do my cause justice in my native tongue;" and, when mentioning Germany, though his recital was, in other respects, calm, clear, and collected, he burst forth into an enthusiasm which arrested my conscious interest. After conversing for a little on the university and professors of Leipsic, I put the question, "How has it happened that I see you, belonging to a distinguished family, having received an excellent education, here, accused of the design which it is said brought you to Paris? Speak candidly and without fear."

"Sir," replied La Sahla, "I was pursuing my studies at Leipsic, where I resided for about fifteen months; having little intercourse with my fellow students, whose dissipated habits suited neither my studies nor my state of health. [The youth's countenance announced a state of habitual suffering.] I applied particularly to the study of law, history, and the oriental languages. Being disabled by illness from attending the public lectures, professors attended me privately. My father, about nine years ago, was my mother, who, without being opulent, in easy circumstances, allows me thirteen hundred German crowns yearly (£217,) and I receive besides some remittances from other relatives. I began to hate your Emperor, after hearing at Dresden a sermon by

M. Reinhart, senior Lutheran clergyman. In the discourse, delivered before the battle of Jena, Napoleon, without being precisely named, was clearly indicated, and compared with Nero. The evils suffered by Germany since that period sank deep into my spirit; and Viller's letter on the taking of Lubeck put the seal on my resentment. While pursuing my studies at Leipsic, I witnessed of the conscription--of the attempt of Staps, [here his expression became animated, and his air as if inspired,] and the suppression of the free press of my country. I witnessed English merchandise committed to flames. That last act of stupid tyranny moved me beyond endurance. When I witnessed annihilated, the shops shut, desolation among all classes of citizens, despair throughout, I resolved to kill Napoleon, the author of all these evils. I intended to leave Leipsic six weeks later than I did; but, upon reflection, it appeared to me that, by killing the Emperor before the Empress's delivery, the success of my attempt would be more complete, than if I waited till afterwards; for, should she have a son, the French would probably become attached to the dynasty, and there would be a chance of an overturn in the empire. I hastened my departure, therefore, and practised long with a pistol, in which I attained great expertness. I became a Catholic, because, the Pope having excommunicated Napoleon, to kill him had become a meritorious act in the eyes of God, and because I knew that, by professing myself of their religion, I should obtain support among Catholics. As a second motive, I remarked that those countries in which Catholicism prevails are more united and are easily governed by their neighbours. I read with avidity books on this subject, and the writings of Müller on the liberties of Germany. From these I made many extracts, which will be found in my trunk at Leipsic. For six weeks before my departure, I gave myself up to dissipation to pleasure, in order to deceive my

companions, and justify in their opinion a departure not authorized by my relations. The day before setting out, I sent my domestic to Dresden, in order to get quit of him, under pretence of carrying a letter to my uncle. As bad luck would have it, he missed the public conveyance, and, returning, found me engaged in preparations for a journey, which he judged must be a long one. He it is, I believe, who betrayed me to the police. At that moment, however, I was uneasiness, having given out that I was going to Mayence, he confirmed. I played the fool and the sot, and arrived in Paris without being disconcerted or discovered in my design. I brought with me five pistols of different sizes."

To my question, How he had employed the time since his arrival in Paris? Le Sahla replied,—"Since the 16th February, when I reached the capital, I have every day passed five hours at the Tuileries: I dined there, and waited on the watch for the time when Napoleon should walk. Last Thursday I observed the Emperor walking backward and forward in a saloon fronting the gardens. The window was open, and sometimes he approached it. I designed to fire at him; but a passenger, to whom I expressed my desire of getting a better view of the Emperor, being told that in all likelihood he would descend into the garden, I waited: the Emperor, however, did not again appear. I reckoned on accomplishing my design in different ways, as opportunity served: while he was getting into his carriage to go to the chase; or while walking with Duroc in the garden of the Tuileries; or in the mass; or at the Theatre Français. The distance to the chapel presented to me no objection, for it did not seem more than that between a box fronting the theatre, which I had ascertained to be about thirty paces. With one of my pistols I was sure of my man at that distance. I finally determined for the theatre. By resting my hand on the front of the box, and firing two barrels

at once, it was impossible I could miss the [redacted] I had indeed found a pistol in the Palais Royal with four barrels, but [redacted] did not appear either sufficiently commodious [redacted] sure enough I [redacted] deceived myself as to [redacted] which awaited [redacted] I knew I [redacted] be massacred on the spot; but what imported life to me? [redacted] Staps despised death, as I do, Napoleon had [redacted] existed, for [redacted] the good fortune to close with him, but [redacted] trembled I do not fear death; I believe firmly in predestination [redacted] I am to die in two days, nothing can save me, if I am not [redacted] die, nothing [redacted] prevent my living * Neither did I conceal from myself [redacted] the failure of my enterprise [redacted] not impossible. I have read [redacted] three-and-twenty attempts were made on the life of Henry IV, and that the 24th succeeded Yet Henry took [redacted] precautions, and was beloved; Napoleon takes many, and is hated Forty attempts, therefore, [redacted] made before succeeding with him One would think that this consideration would have deterred me: but no For, supposing it true that [redacted] attempts have been made, I hazard a seventh; it is one chance [redacted] for others, and one less for Napoleon: it is much gained And what is the life [redacted] man in [redacted] with the great result of the destruction of the tyrant?"

"Have you [redacted] places?" asked I "No," [redacted] the reply, "not [redacted]: I opened my mind to no human being; but please God, [redacted] tie of virtue, which [redacted] the youth of Germany in [redacted] love of liberty, will give me [redacted] After me will come others; but [redacted] from Saxony; the students of Leipsic [redacted] disolute and dishonourable; but from Westphalia, where the inhabitants are well informed, and very discontented: from the [redacted] Towns, now united [redacted]

* How singular the coincidence between the reasoning of the Turkish seik in volume first, and that of the young Saxon in volume fourth!—*Author.*

the empire; from Italy and Spain. In the end some one must succeed."

"Did you not," said I, "recoil at the thought of the grief you would occasion your family?"—"Sir," answered the youth, "family considerations must give way before the grand interests of country and of freedom. I know I shall overwhelm with my mother my sister. I am the only son of two women, when the deliverance of Germany is at stake? Napoleon dead, Germany her laws and her sovereigns; French domination, so odious, is at an end; the law of the people. Napoleon to the law of the people. It will happen; for, if he be killed—and killed he will be by perseverance—Bernadotte, beloved by the French, will be recalled from Sweden, and he will evacuate Germany; or the marshals will dispute among themselves, and I shall have repeated the history of Alexander's successors. In either case, Germany will be free and happy; for, while France is united, Germany will be oppressed. Such was my design: no private consideration actuated me, and, till now, my secret remained untold to every mortal. I have no accomplices. I considered neither mother nor sister, nor relations, nor nobility, nor privileges. I thought of one object—the deliverance of Germany from the French yoke, which weighs still so heavy upon the unfortunate classes of society than upon those of elevated rank. To this grand idea I have sacrificed all. Beyond this I formed no wish, I have none: my blow failed: I love life, but do not fear death. Were I desired to prepare for execution in five minutes, I would be of perfect indifference."

The young man's confession: I sat down in German, and afterwards read them over both in German and French. He was interested deeply, and I resolved if possible, to save him. Duke de Rovigo was easily persuaded

to view the matter as I did, and to see the propriety of representing the young German as insane, especially as disturbances in the class to which he belonged—his uncle being minister to the king of Saxony—would be doubly dangerous, in themselves and in their influence. The Emperor has since acknowledged the prudence of his conduct; for, speaking of Helena of the attempts made on his life, he said, “I carefully concealed what I could.” Vincennes, therefore, according to his recommendation, became his prison of La Sabla, where he remained till March, 1814, when he was liberated, having first been transferred during the interval to the castle of Vincennes. I had not heard of him for three years, when, after the restoration, while at breakfast with my family, I was roused by an extraordinary uproar in the antechamber, and, before I could know the cause, found myself in the arms of a young man. It was La Sabla, in a ecstacy of joy and gratitude on his liberation, amidst the arrival of events which he had attempted to hasten by his escape. He returned to Saxony: I never saw him more, but may as well finish here the story of his extraordinary destiny.

In 1815, during the Hundred Days, I learned, at Hamburg, where I then resided, that, on the 26th of June, a violent explosion had been occasioned on the 26th of June, at Paris, by a quantity of fulminating silver, on the person of a young Saxon. On receiving this intelligence, I know not why, but La Sabla irresistibly occurred to my mind: it was he indeed. The following is the declaration of the police, then, at Paris, old, directed by Fouché, and which, in the exception of the concluding portion, seems sufficiently authentic. But, it may be proper to remark, that, if false, I am inclined to ascribe the inaccuracies of the document to the police than to La Sabla:—“During the sitting of the Chamber of Representatives, about 10 o’clock, a dreadful explosion was heard, resembling a clap of thunder. The following are the

details :—A Saxon, aged about twenty-eight, [here is an evident mistake; he could not be twenty-three,] who was said to belong to a family, had in his coat-pocket four ounces of fulminating silver. He ordered himself to be driven to within a short distance of the palace of the Legislative Body, and alighting, had immediately entered the hall, whence he departed soon after, and, at a short distance, while turning the corner of Rue de Bourgogne, he slipped, and fell upon the packet of fulminating powder. A violent detonation ensued, his coat and waistcoat were torn, and his person terribly mutilated. None of the persons near him were injured. In this condition he was conducted to the prefecture of police, where he remained, and recognised the Baron de La Sable, who previously, some years before, attempted to assassinate or poison the Emperor. Such are the details of this new arrest. The following is his defence:—

"I do not deny his former conduct against the Emperor's life, whom he regarded as the oppressor of Germany, but his oppression having ceased, his hatred had also disappeared. The robbery of the Congress, and especially the oppressive conduct of Prussia towards Saxony, had highly exasperated him against the Prussians; and when he heard of the Emperor's landing, and the prospect of his enterprise, he saw in him the liberator of his unhappy country, and resolved to render him all possible service. His attempt of former years had done him marvellously here, by introducing him to much important information, of which he now proposed making use. But for me he behaved to France, and, addressing himself to M. de Hardenberg, (Prussian minister,) he feigned to be more zealously than ever bent upon his former design. M. de Hardenberg, bestowing on him many praises, and giving him much encouragement to proceed, introduced him to General Blücher, whom

requested to procure M. de La Sahla the means of entering France. The marshal's head-quarters were then at Namur; his chief of staff, in delivering M. de La Sahla his passport, advised him to procure fulminating silver, and mentioned a dealer in Namur by whom he could be supplied. To avoid suspicion, La Sahla purchased four pounds. Arriving at Paris, he communicated to the government, and particularly to the minister of war, important information on the force, designs, and resources of the allies. In serving France, he considered himself as effectually benefiting his country. To the minister he also communicated the circumstance of the fulminating powder, which, he declared on his examination, he had not found a convenient opportunity to dispose of; and, fearing some accident if he left the packet at his lodgings, had continued to carry it on his person.

"It is said, he also declared that he had communicated, with proofs, to M. Metternich, whom he saw at Vienna, that M. de Stein, Prussian minister, had engaged him to poison M. de Mongeluz, minister of Bavaria, and that M. Metternich had appeared indignant and alarmed at this conduct of M. de Stein. If these declarations are true, it may be confessed, that the members of the Prussian cabinet there employed diplomatic means of a sufficiently singular."

The conclusion of this document is a portion to which I allude in saying above, that any inaccuracies are to be charged rather upon the police, than upon a lying declaration emitted by La Sahla. In either case, however, it is very difficult to admit, without proof, assertions so atrocious, which positively show Hardenberg of encouraging the assassination of Napoleon, and M. de Stein of having equally encouraged La Sahla to poison M. de Mongeluz. I know nothing; only I consider it a duty to state concerning accusations of this kind against

two ministers, Prince Wittgenstein, a man of honour, in the most especial sense of the word, always mentioned it in honourable terms; it was at least among the probable chances, that the crafty police of the Hundred Days had thus drawn of its familiar acquaintance with contempt, and draw indignation upon, its enemies? These are questions, I repeat, which I propose, without venturing to solve them.*

I left my family at Hamburg, where they continued during the winter of 1810-11. Davoust succeeded to the military command of the departments. Misery attained its height, for Dupas regretted. One of the prince-marshal's first acts, on arriving, was to assemble the officers, and instruct them to play the spy in private houses. Some were indignant, and advised Bourrienne to remain in her guard. But Davoust never forgave my free opinion of his abilities, expressed to Bonaparte. Soon after my arrival in Paris, in the commencement of 1811, I received intelligence, from an excellent friend at Hamburg, that I would get a letter, intended to compromise me, Talleyrand, and Rapp. This information I laid before the Duke of Rovigo. Three weeks passed, and no letter came. Savary was inclined to believe the alarm a false one;

* The relation above has called forth an angry reclamation from Baron de Stem, which only proves the good faith of Bourrienne. This pamphlet is dated from Cappenberg, in Westphalia, 18th February, 1811, and seems to aim at giving an impression to the reader as if our author had invented the accusation, while he merely quotes a public document. Bourrienne, on being applied to, instantly stated his willingness to add, in a note to a subsequent edition, that his personal opinion had always exculpated M. de Stem. M. de Metternich, too, shews that La Sabla never spoke to him. This merely proves, what Bourrienne had supposed, the police report to be erroneous; but so far from reflecting upon his veracity, the Prince de Metternich passes on his work a merited eulogium. — *Translator*.

in a few days the letter did arrive. To what a degree of infamy may not descend! The letter written by [redacted] I [redacted] known in Hamburg, whom I had obliged, and to whom I [redacted] given bread by employing him as a spy. After a long account of an infamous transaction, in which he affirmed he had been engaged, managing it for me, Talleyrand, and Rapp, in England, he desired sixty thousand francs to be remitted by return of courier, as payment for this affair. Happily this precious document [redacted] tained its [redacted] confutation. The transaction [redacted] laid in 1802, when I [redacted] not only not plenipotentiary, [redacted] still secretary to the First Consul. I copied [redacted] carried this credential to Rovigo. The [redacted] went immediately to the Emperor. Scarcely had he entered, when the latter, advancing, said, "Well, I learn [redacted] doings of your Bourrienne, whom you are always defending!" Whence, the reader will ask, [redacted] apostrophe? from [redacted] simplest of [redacted] a copy of the letter had been forwarded by the [redacted] post to the Emperor. Rovigo explained, and produced the documents. " [redacted] baseness, what horror!" exclaimed Napoleon: "Let the rascally writer be arrested and sent hither." The order [redacted] promptly executed. [redacted] was the result? No sooner had [redacted] arrived than he [redacted] examined. His [redacted] fession declared, that the missive in question had been written by order, and to the dictation, of [redacted] Davoust, and that he himself had received a small sum of money, as secretary's salary in the business. It [redacted] out farther, that the said letter, [redacted] being put [redacted] the post-office, had been designated by the marshal [redacted] the director of [redacted] "black cabinet," as [redacted] to be opened, copied, re-sealed, and forwarded [redacted] its original address, and the copy transmitted [redacted] Emperor! The miserable scribe was [redacted] banished to Marseilles, or to the Island of Hieroa, I forget which; but [redacted] grand criminal, who contrived [redacted] the whole, continued, as if nothing [redacted] happened,

marshal of France, prince of the empire, and governor of the circle of the Hanse Towns. Such was the distributive justice to the subjects of

I have just said that Savary, of Rovigo, replaced, minister of police, Fouché, of (Oranto, but without telling how. by this time been discovered, that my opinion of the was well founded; and, when the former, minister, came to investigate the of polices, counter-polices, surveillances, and hierarchies of espionage, he discovered all these so many scarecrows up to frighten the Emperor. Verily Fouché had acted much in the way gardeners do, place effigies in their cherry-trees, to the sparrows, and get all the fruit for themselves. Thanks such artifices, the eagle had looked upon these with the terror as the sparrow. But, length, the Emperor having detected pondence, which Fouché carried with England, through the channel of Ouvrard, dismissed the minister, with fewer palliations certainly than during the consulate, but still with a good deal of management. As Ouvrard, he was arrested, and this the effected by Savary, in his subordinate capacity; for, immediately after, the Emperor, sending for him Cloud, placed in his hands the portfolio of general police. If, in these circumstances, Savary had known Fouché as I did, he would have committed the egregious blunder of allowing him remain for fifteen days afterwards in quiet possession of the hotel of the police. This space Fouché played in burning his really useful instead of arranging them he pretended; so that, after his classification of documents, Savary found himself utterly without guides, such as his predecessor chose leave him, and to which would have been extremely silly to have yielded implicit confidence. concealed names of those heroes of

system, whom he honoured with the names of *observers*, and revealed only his *spies*. The former played their part in the gilded drawing-room, in the hotels of ambassadors, the latter contrived to have a periodical infirmity towards strong waters, at times when the great personages of diplomacy found the said infirmity necessary to the exercise of rights. Savary got acquainted with only the populace of Fouché's subterranean subjects; and he acknowledged that the spies of Rovigo were inferior genteel company to the myrmidons of Otranto. But the absence of such gentlemen was more desirable than their best politeness; and, though I will not venture to say that they were entirely banished from the saloon, they were, at least, far more under Savary, who simplified the whole system, and gave something like a very respectable liberty. It is but justice to explain, that though he endeavoured to simplify the machinery of his administration, he insensibly to diminish every thing vexatious therein, he was not always the master; and I here avow that, not without much impatience, I have seen, in his *Memoirs*, a voluntary assumption of responsibility, in several instances, when a single word would have consigned the obnoxious facts to their proper author.

I continued in Paris to the month of May before returning to Germany for my family: during this period, the war in Spain and Portugal occupied all minds. The year 1811 had commenced under auspices sufficiently favourable to the French. On New Year's Day, Suchet had carried Tortosa; and, almost at the same time, we obtained important advantages in Portugal, where Oporto and Olivença were taken by Girard. We gained some other advantages, as the capture of Pardaleras, and the battle of Gebora, fought by the Duke of Dalmatia. But, in the beginning of March, fortune changed. The Duke of Belluno, notwithstanding the valour of his troops,

could not fix her inconstancy in the contest of Chiolana; and, from that hour, the French effect nothing against the Anglo-Portuguese army. himself was no longer the beloved of victory, under the walls of Vienna, and in mountain of Zurich. The combined forces increased, and diminished daily. Nothing was spared by England to ensure success in the struggle. She lavished gold; her army paid well in return for every thing; and our troops, in order not to throw the enemy's party, paid also for their provisions, though far from possessing same. But all would not do; numerous partial insurrections broke out in different provinces, rendered communications with France extremely difficult, and armed bands cut off our straggling and dispersed soldiers wherever they were to be found. England encouraged and supported this spirit; for otherwise the idea is not to be entertained for a moment, that Portugal could, for one day, have held out against France. But combat, a deadly privations, and misery thinned the French ranks, and repose had become doubly necessary where action ceased to be followed by results. Massena recalled; for the state of health rendered him physically incapable of the activity necessary for restoring the army to a respectable attitude. In this of things, Napoleon sent Bertrand into Illyria, instead of Marmont, who then assumed Massena's command in Portugal. The army he found in a woful of destitution and disorder; yet, by good and prudent measures, Marmont re-established affairs, and, in a short time, placed himself at the head of thirty thousand well appointed infantry, with forty pieces of artillery; though could assemble but few horsemen, these badly mounted. greatly different Spain; first, throughout, clearly purchased, that issue of the struggle might then almost have been

predicted. When a people fight for their independence, every day, every hour, every death, diminishes the assailants, but it inspires the ranks of the patriots. A regiment destroyed is replaced with difficulty and delay, while a village burnt, among an energetic population, arms the inhabitants of a whole province. In 1808 did Bonaparte and Suchet themselves with glory, that glory, dyed in Spanish gore, rendered fruitless. Resistance became, for all Spaniards, a holy duty, and the assembling of the Cortes, in the Isle of Leon, gave consistency to their efforts. On this subject I remember a remark of Alfieri, written fifteen years before the present. The author, throwing a retrospect over the different nations of the Continent, says,—"I see in the Spaniards the only nation which yet possesses sufficient energy to combat a foreign rule." Certainly, if I had been then with Napoleon, I would have ventured an honest artifice, which had often proved successful, by laying the book upon his desk, open to the passage. Sometimes, indeed, he paid attention to the volume, but most usually the passage I had selected caught his eye, and provoked a discussion on the analagous thoughts then dominant in his spirit.

Throughout the summer, there occurred nothing very decisive in the Peninsula. Sometimes success, most dearly bought, sometimes defeat, always blood,—never results. Some brilliant affairs bore witness to the bravery of our troops, and the talents of our generals. Such were the battle of Albufera, the taking of Tarragona, by Suchet, while Wellington forced the siege of Badajoz. These advantages were productive only of glory, though flattering to Napoleon's hopes of finally triumphing in the Peninsula. But the English began to prevail, in Paris, for it was pretty well known, from the official intelligence, that the French gospel Duroc even confessed his illusions had fled! he said, "Good bye, my friends! the Peninsula were to be dreaded

been bad." At the same time he assured me, that more than once the Emperor had expressed regret at seeing [] engaged in [] war; but, because the English [] taken part in it, no consideration could induce him [] withdraw from the contest.

[] will perhaps be considered a singular fact, that Josephine, from its beginning, entertained a presentiment [] evil regarding the Spanish [] her tact here [] not for a moment deceived. Usually she [] [] political affairs, chiefly because [] her doing [] [] displease Napoleon, [] because a natural levity of disposition carried [] [] less serious thoughts; but such was the perfection of her instinct, if the expression may be used, of good and evil, in reference to her husband, [] she rarely, if ever, failed [] appreciate justly the final issue of events [] affecting his fortune. She herself told me, that, from the moment he expressed [] intention [] give the [] of Spain to Joseph, a fearful foreboding struck upon her heart, which she could neither banish [] account for. I cannot tell whence arises that prophetic sense of futurity which does exist in some minds; but certain it is, that Josephine [] endued with [] feeling to an extent I have [] known in any other. To her the gift [] [] [] unfortunate one; for experience [] attached such implicit credence to the sentiment, that [] rendered her unhappy both in the present and for the future.

[] saw the Empress pretty frequently at Malmaison, Daroo having assured me [] the Emperor would take my visits in good part. Yet I know not what [] [] have thought of our conversations; for, truly, [] [] friend and his first wife [] excusable, [] if they [] not always commend [] in their interchange of grievances. Although [] than [] [] passed since the separation, sorrow [] [] new in Josephine's heart, for every thing contributed [] augment it. "Think, my friend," she would often say, "of all the tortures I must have [] since

that day; I cannot conceive how I have sunk under them. Can you imagine greater bitterness for every where to see descriptions of fêtes for his marriage! And the first time he to me, after having wedded another,—what interview! How many it to shed! Still, the days when he here are, me, days of suffering, for he never takes the trouble humour my feelings, or, you will, weaknesses. With what cruelty does he about the he 'o have! You understand, Bonrienne, how all Far better be exiled a thousand leagues from hence! Yet," (as if her kindly heart reproached her,) "yet friends have remained me: those are my only consolation." She really was very unhappy, and I had no comfort to give, save to mingle my lamentations here. Such, however, still the empire of dress Josephine, that, after weeping for a quarter of an hour, her forgotten to give audience to fashionable milliner. At the aspect of a bonnet, Josephine became a One day I recollect taking advantage of a moment of calm, obtained by a display of brilliant gewgaws, and could refrain felicitations on the happy influence which these still exercised over her. "My good friend," her reply, "would you believe it, all that is perfectly indifferent to me? but, then, it is a habit." She might have added,—and an occupation; and it would an exaggeration say, if, from Josephine's existence, had been retrenched the time passed in and the toilette, its duration would have been considerably diminished.*

* Bonrienne here, as elsewhere, does not appear, in one respect to have appreciated with feeling the character of Josephine,—mere frivolity, as he pretends, did not form one of its constituents. In the present case, her own remark, that dress because a habit, shews a far better knowledge of the

Another of my old friends, whom I met at Paris, was Murat. He had come to offer his congratulations on the expected increase of the imperial family, and the news of his presence in the capital had reached me when, one morning about nine o'clock, while passing along one of the alleys of the Champs-Élysées, he accosted me before I recognized him. He was alone, dressed in a long blue surtout. We stood exactly opposite the palace of his sister-in-law, the Princess Borghese. "Hollo, Bourrienne! my good fellow, how are you?" said Joachim, for we had been on the most understanding; and he, to do him justice, never played the king, save with his attendants, those who were known him only as a sovereign. After exchange of greeting, he asked, "But do tell me what are you about now?" I recounted how I had been tricked by Bonaparte in reference to Hamburg. Imagination portrays the noble and animated countenance of the King of Naples, when, on my accosting him with sire, to his majesty, he replied, with indignant frankness, "Pshaw! my dear Bourrienne; prithee, no more of that; I am not always old comrades!" Then continuing, almost in the same tone, "The Emperor has been unjust towards you! and to whom is he not unjust? His displeasure is more to be valued than his favour, so dearly does he make me pay for the latter! He says he made me kings! but will he not make him Emperor? Look you, my friend, to you, whom I have long known, I can repeat my confession of faith: my sword, my blood, my life, are the Emperor's; but the word, I am the field to combat his, the enemies of France: there I am no longer a king; I become, as of old, a marshal of the empire; but let

human heart. A settled grief, so far from interrupting habits, strengthens them in the act, though the consciousness of pleasure have ceased for ever. —

him not urge me beyond this. At Naples I will be King of Naples, and pretend not to sacrifice, ■ ■ ■ false calculations, the life, the wellbeing, the interests of my subjects. And let ■ ■ ■ not think ■ ■ ■ treat me ■ ■ ■ treated Louis ! for I ■ ■ ■ ready, ■ ■ ■ needs must, ■ ■ ■ defend, against himself, the rights of the people whom he called ■ ■ ■ govern. Am I then only an advanced-guard king ?" This last phrase seemed peculiarly appropriate ■ ■ ■ the mouth of him whose fiery valour had ■ ■ ■ placed him in the ■ ■ ■ of ■ ■ ■ armies, ■ ■ ■ whom, in fact, ■ ■ ■ always been confided ■ ■ ■ command of the advance, and very happily expressed the situation of the soldier and the monarch.

During ■ ■ ■ this ■ ■ ■ first conversation, he ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ conceal from ■ ■ ■ that the greatest of his grievances ■ ■ ■ from the Emperor's having placed him in advance, and afterwards deserted him. "When I arrived at Naples," resumed he, "I ■ ■ ■ told they intended ■ ■ ■ assassinate me. How ■ ■ ■ I act ? I made my ■ ■ ■ into Naples alone, in broad day, in ■ ■ ■ open carriage, and would have preferred being ■ ■ ■ sinated the first hour to living in constant apprehension of such a fate. I immediately undertook ■ ■ ■ expedition against Iachia.* It was successful ; I attempted another against Sicily, and should also have succeeded, I am certain, had the Emperor, according to promise, ■ ■ ■ round the Toulon fleet, to second my operations : but he issued contrary orders : he wished to play Mazarin ■ ■ ■ my adventurous Duke of Guise. At present, I ■ ■ ■ clearly his aim. Since ■ ■ ■ has got a son, ■ ■ ■ whom he has conferred the ■ ■ ■ of King of Rome, he contemplates in his after plans to render ■ ■ ■ crown of ■ ■ ■ a deposit on my head. ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ upon Naples only ■ ■ ■ a future annexation ■ ■ ■ kingdom of Rome, in which I perceive it ■ ■ ■ he ■ ■ ■ intention ■ ■ ■ ingulf the whole of Italy : but let ■ ■ ■

* A small island in the Bay of Naples, within view of the palace, and then in possession of the English. — *Translator.*

not drive me to extremities, for I will war the scheme, or perish sword in hand. I was right in my anticipations, I had no prudence not to see that the Continental System, however, not these apprehensions, which wrought the schism—which separated the Emperor of Murat from the Emperor's, and constrained the King of Naples to seek refuge among princes at war with France. Different judgments have been pronounced upon this conduct: I sum them up thus; the Marshal of the Empire was wrong—but the King of Naples right.

About eight days previous to this interview, the long-cherished wish of Napoleon's ambition had been fulfilled. He had a son of his own, an heir of his name, of his power, and of his crown. Here I state, because true, that the reports then spread abroad respecting the death of the King of Rome, were utterly false, and without foundation. My friend Corvisart, who was for an instant quitted by Louis during her long and painful labour, left me in no doubt on this subject, and it is just and true that the young prince, who was held over the baptismal font by the Emperor of Austria, was the son of Napoleon and Maria Louisa, as it was the son of Napoleon and Hortense's eldest son. It is a fact, for my sensibilities, torn as they then were, render me unjust, that the birth of this infant heir to the imperial throne, was met with universal enthusiasm. Napoleon had child in the light under circumstances promising greater glory. In fact, from the birth of his son to the first of his reverses beyond Moscow, the Emperor was in the zenith of his power. His empire, embracing under this denomination all the kingdoms possessed by the imperial family, exclusive of the ill-assured throne of Spain, contained fifty millions of people.

In the same time, the venerable man, whose capital (the ancient abode of the Cæsars) was gifted with an infant, remained still at Savona,

These discussions continued throughout the whole of 1811. At length Napoleon bethought

himself of calling a council, which, after six or seven hundred already since the first ages the church, he imagined might devise some plan of restoring her to peace. This council assembled at Paris. The attendance of bishops was four. The great object of dispute lay in the discussion of the temporalities apart from the spiritual of the church. To this the Pope would not agree. He hoped a council would go on without Holiness. However well disposed towards separation a number of prelates, chiefly from Italy, might be, the influence of the church still too strong in the council, and certain members, both bishops and archbishops, being convicted of sending secret instructions to Savona, those of Ghent, Troyes, Tournay, and Toulouse, were superseded in their seats, and confined in the castle of Vincennes. The Emperor finally resolved to dissolve the council, and, fearing it might act against his supreme authority, caused each member separately to sign a declaration, that the propositions relative to resumption by the Emperor of the temporalities, were conformable to the usages of the church. In these individual declarations the members were unanimous, though, when assembled in council, their opinions had been divided on the very points which they afterwards signed, for accommodation.

Subsequently, Napoleon, before setting out for Germany, in the commencement of 1812, transferred the Pope to Fontainebleau, under the friendly care of Denon, our amiable fellow traveller in Egypt. Two motives induced this change of residence,—fear of disturbances in Italy while Holiness remained so near, and apprehension that the English in the bay of Genoa might make a move and free the venerable captive. There was delicacy, however, in placing the person of Denon's accomplishments, character, and disposition. "The Pope," I use Denon's words, "conceived great friendship

me, always addressed me, 'my son,' and delighted in conversing on our Egyptian expedition. One day he asked me for my book; as you know, all is quite orthodox therein, I hesitated; he insisted. After having finished the perusal, his holy father said it interested him very much, I endeavoured to gloss over the objectionable points relative to the Mosaic account of the creation. 'It is all one, my son,' he repeated on several occasions, 'it is quite the same; all that is extremely curious; in truth, I do not know it before.' Then," pursued Denon, "I thought I might venture to tell his Holiness the cause of my hesitation, that he had formerly excommunicated both the work and the author. 'Excommunicated thee, my son!' returned the Pope, with the touching kindness, 'have I communicated thee? Truly I am very sorry! I am sure I never intended to do so.'" Denon assured me, that he was greatly touched by the virtue and resignation of his Holy Father; who, notwithstanding, would have become a martyr than yield the temporal sovereignty of Rome. Of this he considered himself as depositary; and resolved it should never be said he had resigned the trust voluntarily.

As the first step in the grand expedition in which he was speedily to be involved, Napoleon, accompanied by Maria Louisa, who expressed a desire to see her father, set out for Dresden, on the 9th of May, 1812.

CHAPTER III.

WAR WITH RUSSIA—PREPARATIONS—NAPOLEON AT
 DINTENHOF—COOPERATION WITH MURAT, BERTHIER, AND
 RAPP—POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS—POLAND—EX-
 PEDITION TO MOSCOW—CONTRASTS IN BONAPARTE'S
 CHARACTER—CONSPIRACY OF MALLET—ITS CON-
 SEQUENCES—NAPOLEON'S PRECIPITATE DEPARTURE
 FROM HIS ARMY—ITS CAUSES—HIS ACTIVITY—
 HIS ARMY—DEFEAT OF THE RUSSIANS—CONGRESS
 AT PRAGUE—DEFECTION OF NAPOLEON'S ALLIES—
 DEFEAT IN THE BATTLE OF CAMP—HIS DEFEAT OF
 ACTION—DEFEAT OF DRESDEN AND LEIPZIG—
 DEATH OF DUROC—SINGULAR CONFERENCE OF
 THE LATE EMPEROR OF POLAND—DEFEAT OF
 THE ALLIES TO THE RHINE—DEFENCE—LAST
 BODY.

FROM the month of March, 1811, suspicions of an
 approaching war with Russia began to be entertained;
 and in October, returning from an excursion to
 Holland, upon which he had set out, after the
 death of the King of Rome, Napoleon perceived that
 such a rupture had become inevitable. In vain he
 sent Lauriston, of quality of ambassador, to replace
 Count Incourt, who would no longer remain at St
 Petersburg. Nothing could be done with a cabinet
 whose measures were taken. These measures, too,
 had been greatly enlightened by the information
 conveyed from time to time by Czernischeff, aide-de-
 camp to the Emperor Alexander, who, in various

pretext carrying compliments from, to, his master, contrived to be almost continually on the road between Paris and St Petersburg; so that, in the space of four years, it was calculated he thus travelled thirty thousand miles, and, during all that time, had been engaged in the deepest mysteries of espionage. His object, indeed, was unknown. The Emperor treated him with apparent confidence; and the police, under Savary, plotted him to a considerable extent, by doubly corrupted informers; but in the month of April, 1812, it was evident that he had obtained real and valuable information, from Michel, a functionary in the war-office. This unfortunate wretch was condemned to death. The motives which moved the Russians to war were numerous, but all springing from one grand source, the ambitious aggressions of Bonaparte, in adding to his empire state after state, the very borders of Russia. The Hanse Towns, and the right bank of the Elbe, formed into imperial departments, have been, awakened into active resolution this slumbering jealousy. The seizure of Oldenburg, belonging to Alexander's brother-in-law; the invasion of Pomerania; the operations in Poland, followed the conviction, or tended to enforce it, that, if Russia wished to prevent the mighty wave, thus rolling on northward over Europe, from overwhelming her estates, she must meet and repel with an armed bulwark.

"The Duke of Oldenburg was not the brother-in-law of the Emperor Alexander, but his uncle. If this error of going to Petersburg, he sojourned in Hamburg, this error would not have occurred: he might then, like several other princes of Germany, have danced in the saloon of M. Bourienne, and transacted business with the latter in his cabinet." Such is the only error of magnitude which Baron Stein has detected in Bourienne; and such are the terms in which, in his angry pamphlet, he crowns over a mistake of a German pedigree! This gives additional value to the original. — *Translator.*

Napoleon, on that part, prepared for the gigantic enterprise, as immense, the conquest of the world might well have seemed in prospective. In the month of March, 1811, the Emperor held a council almost the entire military force of Europe. It was astonishing the union of nations, languages, manners, religions, diverse interests, ready to fight for a single individual, against a power which had done them no injury. This vast expedition, the greatest conceived by the genius of man, since the age of Alexander's conquest of India, fixed all regards, absorbed all ideas, and transcended all calculations of reason. Towards the Niemen, as if that river had become the sole centre of all action, men, horses, carriages, provisions, baggage of every description, were directed from all points of the European continent. The army of Napoleon was not composed solely of French, nor of those troops from countries subjected to her immediate influence, as Spain, Italy, Switzerland, and the Confederation. Neither Prussia nor Austria possessed the courage, rather could claim the power, of remaining neutral; the former supplied a contingent of fifteen thousand men, under General Yorck, and Austria an army of thirty thousand troops, commanded by Prince Schwarzenberg, who nevertheless retained his station of commander-in-chief of the imperial court, rather head-quarters. As the victory had been already secured, Napoleon, on this occasion, for the first time, placed among his preparations for the campaign some of those splendid articles which served to decorate his coronation, and which were now intended to swell the pomp of a triumphal entry into the most ancient capital of Muscovy. What afterwards became of them is well known: the imperial carriage, used at the coronation, became the object of a speculation in London. But in his military and diplomatic arrangements there was no trifling. Before departing, Napoleon, having removed all the disposable force of the

empire, issued a senatorial decree for calling out the national guards, divided into three *bands*. The national guard!—a civil militia, the bare convocation of which was a solecism in his absolute government.

Only on 14 February, 1812, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, had been concluded with Prussia, in virtue of which each of the contracting powers guaranteed reciprocally the integrity of their estates, and by implication of Turkey, then at peace with Russia; a treaty had also been concluded with Austria, towards the end of the same month; the confederation renewed between France and Switzerland.

But, in the public attention, the hopes and wishes of all our generals, and the fears of all wise men, were directed towards Russia, the war in Spain suffered to languish or become daily more unfortunate. Officers most distinguished in the art of war regarded it as a disgrace to be sent to or retained in the Peninsula. No great foresight, therefore, was required to predict the period when our soldiers would be forced to re-pass the Pyrenees. The enemy had already assumed the offensive: he had sixty thousand men, while we had scarcely twenty thousand; farther, our troops were scattered, separated into small divisions, and obeying different impulses; for, though Joseph Bonaparte reigned in Madrid, not one of our generals considered himself as under his orders. The enemy was abundantly supplied with provisions, while we, objects of national hate, were in want of every thing, our soldiers having no other resource but pillage, which necessarily exasperated them for the future. Already had Ciudad-Rodrigo and Badajoz fallen into the hands of the English. I can assert, also, that however truth might sometimes be concealed from the Emperor, the state of Spanish affairs was fully laid before him, in the spring of 1812, previous to his departure for Dresden. The period of his abode in that capital has frequently

been assumed at the era of Napoleon's greatest glory ; so ; but it was certainly the imposing exhibition of imperial splendour. The Saxon palace, indeed, was a hall of kings, as at the Tuileries a hall of princes and marshals. But any one who would scrutinise the sentiments which thus transformed monarchs into the courtiers of a soldier the French Republic, it appeared evident, that what this assemblage possessed in brilliancy was wanting in solidity.

From Dresden the Emperor returned to Paris, and the Emperor speeded forward to Smolensk. But, before commencing his grand operations on the Niemen the Volga, he took Dantzic on his way, where my friend Rapp commanded, and from whom I afterwards received the following narrative of this interesting visit :—"On quitting Dresden," said Rapp, "the Emperor came to Dantzic. I reckoned on a dressing," such was Rapp's expression ; "for, I speak truly, I treated very cavalierly both his house and his officers ; I even put in limbo one of the directors, who ventured on refractory airs with me. He knew, likewise, that I had not been over scrupulous with English merchandise and colonial produce. Indeed, the people are miserable, I felt the heart to be so. In this, I had made pretty free with the Russian expedition in some of my reports. ["These beasts of will know as much as we," Rapp used, long before, to say to me ; "every time people go with them, we teach them how to use us."] In the autumn of 1812," continued my informant, "I wrote the Emperor thus :—'If your majesty experience any reverse, be assured Russia and Germany will *en masse*, to shake off the yoke : it will be a crusade : all your allies will join you. The King of Bavaria, upon whom you confide so much, will join the Emperor. I except only the King of Saxony ; he, perhaps, would remain faithful

to you; but his subjects will force him to make common cause with your enemies.'

"The King of Naples, intrusted with the command of ■■■ cavalry of the army," continued Rapp, "had preceded the Emperor, and appeared to me ■ view not more favourably than ■ the issue of the campaign about ■ be commenced. ■■■ was, besides, very much ■■■■ that he ■■ not been asked ■ Dresden: he told me he felt ■■■■ ashamed ■■■■ a king, such as he was, than if reduced ■ a simple captain of grenadiers." Here I interrupted Rapp ■ tell him of my former conversation with Murat, in our singular interview in the Champs-Élysées. "Ah, bah!" resumed Rapp, "Murat, all brave as he was,* had no more pluck in the Emperor's presence than ■ chicken in ■ rainy day. As a proof,—when Napoleon arrived, Murat ■■ I were the first to ■■■■ him. Being much fatigued, after putting ■ ■■ questions to ■■ ■■ Dantzic, he dismissed us immediately; but, in a little time, ■■■■ for ■■ alone. When he had finished dressing, the first thing he spoke to ■■ about ■■■ the alliance lately concluded with Prussia and Austria. I, who governed in the country of ■■ these powers, could not, for my soul, forbear telling him, that, ■■ alliance, we did infinite mischief, ■■ evidently appeared from the complaints which I daily received ■■ the conduct pursued by our troops. The Emperor tossed his head, as y■■ know ■■■ his practice when not in ■■ very ■■■ of humours. After ■ short interval of silence, and laying aside ■■ ■■■■■■■■■■, ■■ replied; 'Monsieur ■ General, ■■ this ■■ but ■■ torrent, ■■■■ ■■■■ be allowed to roll past; it will not continue: we ■■■■ ■■■■ know ■ Alexander ■■ decidedly ■■ war.' Then, changing entirely ■■ subject of conversation, he asked, 'Have

* Was! for this conversation took place after the second restoration, when Murat, Ney, and others, were no more.—*Author.*

you observed something extraordinary in [redacted] For my part, I find him quite changed. [redacted] ill?' — 'Sire,' answered I, 'Murat is not ill, but in low spirits.' — 'In low spirits! and wherefore?' [redacted] with being a king?' — 'Sire, [redacted] he [redacted] one.' — 'Is his own fault! Why is he a Neapolitan? why is he not a Frenchman?' [redacted] he is [redacted] his [redacted] kingdom, he [redacted] nothing but blunder: he [redacted] the commerce of England, [redacted] I will not permit.' Now, thought I, [redacted] my turn; [redacted] was a false alarm; there the conversation dropped; and, when about to take my leave, he said, in the [redacted] manner, 'Rapp, you sup with [redacted] this evening.' At supper [redacted] Murat and Berthier, who [redacted] also been invited. Before seating ourselves [redacted] table, our conversation [redacted] upon the war with Russia; and, as I had in my room a bust of the Queen of Prussia, the Emperor made [redacted] reproachful observations on the circumstance; [redacted] these I replied, by remarking, that [redacted] had just told me of Prussia being [redacted] of his allies. On the [redacted] he visited the town, received [redacted] civil and military authorities, and invited [redacted] again [redacted] sup with him. The second supper [redacted] a dull [redacted] [redacted] first, for [redacted] Emperor kept silence; and you know [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] present, not [redacted] Murat, dared [redacted] take the [redacted] word. At length he opened, by a question to me, — 'How far from Cadix to Dantzic?' I replied, without mincing the matter, 'Sire, [redacted] far.' Then no more [redacted] familiar *thee* and *thou*. 'Monsieur [redacted] General, I understand you; but, in a few months, the [redacted] will [redacted] greater.' — 'So much the worse, sire.' [redacted] there [redacted] another interval of silence; [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] Berthier, whom the Emperor examined [redacted] [redacted] searching glance which you know [redacted] he has, answered a word, [redacted] he again took [redacted] conversation, but without addressing any [redacted] [redacted] us in particular; saying, in a [redacted] and rather low [redacted] of voice, 'Gentlemen, I see clearly that you have no great [redacted] [redacted] campaigning. The King of Naples [redacted]

reluctant to quit the fine climate of his own kingdom ; Berthier prefers chateau on his of Grosbois ; and Rapp is impatient to inhabit his house in Paris. To right, left, front stroke,—would you believe it ?—neither nor Berthier a single reply to give—and the ball came again to my foot. I d, quite frankly, ‘that it was very true.’ Lo and behold ! very evening, when alone, Murat Berthier complimented my honest freedom, the thousand and there speaking done. ‘Truly, gentlemen,’ replied I, ‘since you so heartily approve of what I did, why not do as much ? and why me to say my alone ?’ You cannot conceive air of confusion which both presented on address ; and Murat, more than Berthier, though his position very different. Why, my God ! why he not listen to me !” Rapp here strongly affected : but, though he disapproved of Bonaparte’s ambition Bonaparte himself, he shed over fallen Napoleon in presence of Louis XVIII.

The negotiations, commenced while it wished to desirous of avoiding war, resembled oratorical flourishes which only put for a what it intended say. The two emperors were alike eager for war : the one, to consolidate his power ; the other, to himself from a yoke of insupportable burdens, which differed little from vassalage. No accommodation, then, possible. Napoleon desired, and foresaw the war ; and when Czernischeff took leave, latter said, the he could carry to would be, French conscription had not been called out. Two alone of the Continent involved the vortex of Napoleon’s ambition,—Turkey and Sweden. Upon both neighbours of enemy, Napoleon had turned regards. latter exertions had been vain ; and, though the Grand Seignior then actually at war with Russia,

only ~~the~~ ~~same~~ steps taken to prevent Turkey from concluding peace, but no care was evinced to ~~the~~ ~~oppose~~ the prejudices with which ~~the~~ ~~had~~ inspired the Ottoman Porte. The divan ~~was~~ ~~persuaded~~, that, should Russia fall in ~~the~~ struggle, ~~France~~ would purchase peace ~~at~~ the expense of Turkey, as she had done in 1797, in the case of Austria and Venice. The past justified ~~the~~ supposition. While the war, terminated by the treaty of Tilsit, raged, France had made ~~no~~ ~~cause~~ with the Turks, but abandoned them, when peace ~~was~~ rendered their alliance no longer needful. The ~~French~~ ~~Seignior~~ thus mistrustful of the policy ~~of~~ France, ~~sent~~ himself ~~in~~ his guard, and Andrievski, despatched to Constantinople, was heard with little favour. No confidence ~~was~~ attached to Napoleon's advances, they succeeded too abruptly to years of forgetfulness and neglect.

The Russians, ~~on~~ their side, opened negotiations they made such concessions as were judged ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~necessary~~, and which they intended to resume ~~in~~ the first favourable ~~opportunity~~. By ~~the~~ treaty, concluded at Bucharest, the subsequent embarrassments of Napoleon ~~were~~ greatly augmented, the ~~same~~ so, that he had ~~been~~ prepared for such a result. The ~~French~~ ~~Russian~~ army, thus secured by the neutrality of Turkey, was reinforced by the ~~army~~ of Bagration, which, returning from Moldavia, took up a position ~~on~~ the right of the Berezna, and destroyed the ~~French~~ hopes of saving the wreck of the French army, then reduced one half. On the other hand, ~~the~~ ~~French~~ ~~may~~ ~~not~~ comprehend how the Turks allowed to escape ~~the~~ best, and in ~~all~~ probability the last, opportunity they will ~~not~~ have of ~~settling~~ their quarrel with Russia.

In ~~the~~ north, again, Russia maintained a considerable body of troops in Finland, to support her occupation of that province, seized, ~~as~~ ~~she~~ ~~has~~, at the period ~~of~~ the interview of Erfurth. It was of

importance that these should be their position, or even augmented Napoleon, therefore, represented to Bernadotte, was a sure opportunity of recovering Finland, of attaching, by this accession to his conquest, his subjects. Had he succeeded in his alliance with Sweden, only would his enemy have been unable to withdraw his troops, but would have been obliged to cover them, in order to protect Finland, and even cover Petersburg. How was this important conducted? In the month of January, 1812, Davoust seized upon Swedish Pomerania, without any declaration of war, and without apparent Upon this, Bernadotte, as already explained, adopted the part that might have been expected, repelled the offers of Napoleon, and prepared for what might follow. On his side, the Emperor Alexander, desirous of curing the advantages of which this alliance would have deprived him, had an interview with the Crown Prince, at Abo, on the 28th August, 1812. I know that the Emperor of Russia came under a promise to Bernadotte, to protect him, at all events, from the fate of the dynasty, to guarantee his position, and to obtain for him Norway, as a compensation for Finland. He even went so far, as to give him to understand, that he might succeed Napoleon,—a circumstance of which I shall speak hereafter. These promises produced their full effect: Bernadotte adopted all the propositions of Alexander, and, thenceforth, made war against him who was justly styled the enemy, gave the signal for that general defection, which an odious and tyrannical supremacy long provoked.

A question, respecting another power, which rally here, is, "Bonaparte, before setting out for the last campaign of Russia, intend to restore her independence?" Bonaparte, Emperor, never entertained fully, and with a resolution to realize, the idea of re-establishing the kingdom of Poland. but Bonaparte, commander-in-

chief of the army of Egypt, had at heart to avenge the triple partition of that unfortunate country. Many most interesting conversations have I had with him on this subject, on which we were both of one mind. But times were changed since we had walked on the terrace at Cairo, and lamented over Poland, the death of Sulkowski. In like manner, at the commencement of the consulate, his language was, "France yet suffers the humiliation of having contemplated, with cowardly timidity, the destruction of a kingdom such as Poland. Poles have always been the allies of France, to me belongs the right to avenge them. Never will there be secure peace in Europe, until that ancient kingdom be established on its former basis, and in its integrity. Patience! if I live twenty years, I shall perhaps force Russia, Prussia, and Austria, to restore the provinces which they have divided among them. Their policy is odious, infamous, and oppressive." Doubtless the First Consul then spoke as he thought. Then he delighted, above most things, to talk on this subject, in the evening, when the finished labours of the day gave him leisure to launch forth into gigantic views on the future. He was then in the habit of dictating to me for *Monsieur*, many of which, by their signature, or official character, in their energetic expressions bear the impress of having emanated from Bonaparte alone. Some of them were little measured, that he tore them the morning, laughing at the petty fury of the night before. He took upon him to detain, averaging both good and evil for me doing. He would then read the dispute, approve of my conduct, but generally added, "It is the true, however, that, with an independent kingdom of Poland, of a hundred fifty thousand disposable men in the east of France, I should always be master of Russia, Prussia, and Austria." But, subsequently, how did he act, rather, what was his power of acting? Napoleon had,

indeed, made war upon and vanquished the three powers who had ruined and seized Poland; but separately; or, at least, he had conquered all three. In 1805, he fought with Russia, Prussia neutral; in 1806, his opponents were Prussia and Russia, Austria standing apart; in 1809, Austria solely engaged, while Russia and Prussia looked on, or rather were allies; finally, in 1812, he was to have a contest, while Prussia and Austria were allies. Thus he found himself completely disengaged, and if inclined to any emancipation. In fact, upon this occasion, when Napoleon reached Poland, the Diet of Warsaw proclaimed the kingdom free and independent. The address presented to the Emperor on these points was coldly received. Doubt and indecision were put expressly in his reply, and these alienated the spirit of a generous and brave people, who had looked to receive from him a renovated national existence. In regenerated Poland Napoleon would have found the means of succeeding in the gigantic enterprise which his ambition had created. In marching upon Moscow, he would thus have protected his rear and supplies, and there would have secured that retreat which subsequent events rendered but too needful. Talleyrand's removal from the management of foreign affairs, proved unfriendly to the cause of the Poles. At the moment of departure, indeed, the Emperor had been on the point of recalling his former minister, whose enlightened views and great knowledge of European policy would have induced him to support the regeneration of Poland. Intrigue prevailed for a longer; Talleyrand remained at a distance; he retained no negotiator, any thing more; and the Abbe Pradt, imperial almoner, was nominated ambassador to Warsaw. He, great chancellor of the Legion of Honour at the Restora-

tion, has only become celebrated after he had become nothing.

From Dantzic, the Emperor **■** **■** army forward **■** Smolensk, crossing the Niemen on the 24th of June. But **■** the details of a campaign known to **■** **■** world, I, as usual, enter not, especially **■** **■** here he referred to the excellent work of Count de Sagar. The first **■** of importance, Smolensk, **■** not **■** the **■** expected. Napoleon accused Junot of not having cut off the retreat of the enemy, by intercepting their retreat beyond the river, after the Russian legions had been beaten under the **■** of **■** city. This error, however, allowing it to be one, could have but little influence on the result of the campaign. Still victory **■** ours; but, at the **■** time, we lost the battle of Salamanca, and Wellington entered Madrid.

The character of Bonaparte presents the **■** inexplicable contrasts; though the most **■** of mortals, **■** **■** ever more easily allowed **■** **■** be led away by the charm of illusions; in many respects, to desire, and **■** believe, were with him **■** and the same act. And never had he been more under the empire of illusion, than during the early part of the campaign of Moscow. The easy progress of his troops, the burning of towns and villages on their approach, ought to have prepared him for a Parthian warfare, where retreat, drawing him into the heart of **■** country, was only preparatory **■** **■** dering the advance **■** fearful. All wise men, too, before those disasters which marked the most terrible of retreats recorded in history, were unanimous **■** to the propriety of spending the winter of **■** **■** Poland, — there to establish, though only provisionally, a grand nursery for the mighty enterprise of **■** following spring. But the illusions of an impatient ambition urge **■** him on, and his ear was deaf to every other **■** **■** "Forward!" Another illusion,

justified perhaps by the past, was the belief Alexander, the moment that he should behold van of the French columns on the Russian territory, would propose conditions of peace. At length, the burning of Moscow revealed to Napoleon that it was a war to the death; and he who had been hitherto accustomed to receive propositions from vanquished enemies, for the first time found himself rejected. The Emperor Alexander would not enter into negotiations. The prolonged stay at Moscow he explained in any other supposition, than a delusive hope that the Russian cabinet would alter its resolution to treat for peace. As to the regulations, dictated from the ancient capital of Muscovy, touching the Comic Theatre of Paris, these were just a petty contrivance of his policy, in order to put a deception upon the Parisians, and make them believe all was going well, to give him leisure for such matters; and this persuasion, circulated by the leaders of public opinion, tended marvellously to support the fictions of his bulletins. These, though false in many respects, were looked for with the utmost anxiety. How many were the wives and mothers in France, who could not, without a palpitating heart, read the columns of the *Moniteur*! How many the families, who, in the hour of calamities, lost their support and their hope! Never were more tears shed, nor did the voices of the invalids thunder forth the announcement of a victory,—how many thousands, in the silence of retirement, were preparing the external symbols of mourning! It will yet be remembered, that, for a long space of months, the black dresses of Paris presented a very striking sight throughout every part of the city. Destiny had declared against Napoleon, and, after he had taken a long and vainly prolonged leave of a capital in ashes, the rigours of the climate shewed themselves of one accord with the Russians, for the destruction of the most formidable army.

ever yielded obedience to a single **French**. To **France** in history a catastrophe comparable to the disaster of the Beremina, we must ascend to **the** destruction of **the** **Empire** of Varus.

Still, at home, the capital and the interior were tranquil, notwithstanding the certain misfortunes **the** **French** hopes which agitated **the** many of **the** individual families, when, by a singular hazard, **the** the very day **the** Napoleon evacuated **the** burning ruins of Moscow, **the** witnessed **the** inconceivable **the** wild enterprise of Mallet. That general, who had always professed republican principles, endowed, besides, **the** considerable elevation of character, **the** being imprisoned **the** time, **the** obtained permission **the** inhabit an hospital in one of the suburbs. The causes of his arrest were, in some respects, similar to those which cost him his life, namely, hostile intentions towards the imperial government, in 1807. Mallet, besides, was **the** without partisans, connections, **the** character, one, in short, of those whom Bonaparte, when First Consul, had designated *Grumblers of the Republic*: yet this adventurer imagined he could **the** the authority of Napoleon, and re-establish, in **the** **the** popular government—the worst of all, not **the** excepting **the** power. What **the** Mallet have done? Positively nothing. And, had his government endured for three days to an end, it was greater good fortune than he had a right to expect. Still, though his enterprise was **the** of **the** fool, there appeared a considerable share both of **the** and boldness in its execution. The only conspirators **the** Mallet, Guidal, **the** Laborie; without confidants, without plan, **the** without credit.

Mallet escaped **the** **the** the **the** October, **the** accounts, forged by himself, **the** Napoleon **the** ceased to live on the 8th of the same month. **the** repaired **the** Colonel Soulier, who commanded **the** tenth cohort of **the** national guard, whose **the** lay immediately **the** **the** hospital, wherein **the** was

confined. So [redacted] went well. He had provided [redacted] with a quantity of forged orders, which [redacted] signed [redacted] sealed. To [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] under the name of General La Motte, saying, he came on the part of General Mallet. [redacted] Soulier, learning that they had lost the Emperor, [redacted] into tears; he immediately gave orders to the adjutant to assemble the cohort, and to obey the orders of General La Motte, whose pardon he craved, [redacted] [redacted] own state of [redacted] would not permit him to rise. [redacted] was then [redacted] in the morning, [redacted] the forged orders and despatches relative to the Emperor's death and [redacted] form of government, were read to the troops by torch light. Mallet then left the barracks in all haste, [redacted] head of twelve hundred men. With this column, he marched first to the prison of La Force, whence he relieved the Sieurs Guidal and Lahorie, who were there detained; the latter, a miserable agent in the conspiracy of Georges; [redacted] former, suspected of vile espionage for the English, [redacted] Toulon, [redacted] to have [redacted] sent to Marseille, there [redacted] be tried, when [redacted] accidental delay occasioned his becoming thirdman in this [redacted]. To these Mallet communicated his news; issued orders; appointed a meeting in the town hall; and directed the arrest of [redacted] minister of police.

I [redacted] [redacted] at Courbevoie, and, as very frequently happened, [redacted] to town that very morning, [redacted] break-[redacted] with [redacted] minister. [redacted] reader [redacted] conceive my surprise, [redacted] [redacted] that [redacted] Duke de Rovigo was arrested, transferred to [redacted] chambers of La Force, [redacted] [redacted] ephemeral [redacted] Lahorie, [redacted] my great astonishment, just then busy in getting [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] suit. Such an [redacted] so completely characterized [redacted] conspirator, [redacted] I [redacted] quite easy as [redacted] [redacted] issue. The minister at war [redacted] also [redacted] have been arrested; but [redacted] had been thought necessary to [redacted] the [redacted] respectively intrusted [redacted] Lahor[redacted] [redacted] Guidal for these arrests, [redacted] attempting [redacted] [redacted]

the Duke; the delay thus occasioned alone saved his colleague from a similar jaunt to La Force.

Mallet, ■■■ part, ■■■■ General Hulín's, commandant of Paris, to whom he stated, that he came with an order from the minister of police, to arrest him, and seal his papers. Hulín demanded a sight of his credentials. These Mallet had prepared, and, giving ■■■■ the commandant, followed ■■■ into his cabinet, where, on Hulín's turning round to explain, after having examined the papers, he fired a pistol at his head. Hulín fell, being wounded, but ■■■ mortally, in the cheek. What ■■■ remarkable, the captain whom ■■■■ ordered ■■■ follow, ■■■■ nothing extraordinary in ■■■ this, ■■■■ game ■■■ alarm, ■■■ that ■■■■ next repaired with all composure to the adjutant-general's, Doncet. Here, as chance would have it, there happened to be an inspector-general of police, who had come for instructions ■■■ head-quarters, where all ■■■■ ■■■■ were passing. He recognised Mallet as one under his own surveillance, and abroad without permission, and arrested him provisionally. Mallet, seeing ■■■ game all up, attempted to draw a pistol from his pocket, but was plucked and disarmed.

Thus finished this conspiracy, remarkable for a success of some hours, and by a bloody termination more rapid still; a conspiracy which, absolute madness as it was, cost nevertheless ■■■ lives of fourteen individuals: of these, with the exception of Mallet, Guidal, and Laborie, eleven were mere machines. It was asserted ■■■ the time, and has often been repeated since, ■■■ ■■■ Emperor disapproved of, and ■■■ alarmed ■■■■ executions, exclaiming, when he ■■■■ of them,—“It ■■■ a ■■■■ fuxillade; what an impression must that make at Paris?” ■■■ is not correct. ■■■ is ■■■■ ■■■ Napoleon learned with pleasure the prompt and ■■■■ punishment ■■■■ ■■■ followed an attempt on ■■■ power. The ■■■■ produced but little effect ■■■ Paris, because ■■■

and the enterprise reached men's knowledge at the same moment. But triflers found it excellent sport, that the minister and prefect of police had been taken in the morning, by the very men who, the evening before, had been their own prisoners. I called upon Savary next day, and found him still in amazement at his mishap. He already knew that the Parisians laughed at him on account of his imprisonment, though it had not continued all above half an hour. Guidal, accompanied by Lahoris, had presented himself at the hotel of the prefecture, and seized the minister in his shirt, having caught him in bed, and scarcely left him time to put on his clothes; all defence on his part would have been useless, and he acted as any other would have done under similar circumstances.

The Emperor, as I have said, having quitted Moscow on the very day of this wild enterprise, namely, the 19th October,* received the news at Smolensko. Rapp, who had been wounded before entering Moscow, but who was now so far recovered as to be able to keep up with Napoleon, was in attendance on his person at the time when he read the despatches containing the recital. Rapp assured me, that Napoleon was greatly agitated by the perusal. He broke against the nullity of all police, and the negligence of Savary. "But this was all," continued Rapp; "Napoleon, addressing himself to me, exclaimed, 'Does my power, then, hang upon such slender security! How! It is indeed a frail tenure, if a single individual, a prisoner, can contrive to place it in jeopardy! My crown, truly, is but ill secured on my head, if, in my very capital, an audacious scheme of such adventurers causes it to totter! Rapp, misfortune come single: this is the measure!'"

* The reader will here observe a difference of two days, which is to be reconciled thus, Napoleon left Moscow with the advance, on the 19th, and the main-guard cleared the ruins on the 22d October.—Translator.

evil here. I [redacted] every where, [redacted] I must absolutely return to my capital; my presence there has [redacted] indispensable to restore opinion. I want men and money: great successes, and great victories, will repair all: I must depart.' ”

[redacted] were the reasons which determined [redacted] Emperor to quit his army with all possible speed. It is not without indignation that I have seen motives of fear, cowardice, weakness, assigned for his abrupt departure. He fear! he a coward or poltroon! eh? Truly you know him well! He [redacted] more happy than on the battle-field,—never more tranquil than in the midst of dangers; but say [redacted] he dreaded an empty phrase in some contemptible pamphlet, and you are right. Furthermore, I can well conceive the deep anxiety he must have experienced in the circumstances above. His reflections to Rapp, he knew, [redacted] the same that the public would make; that the moral effect of such an attempt was to be apprehended as capable of dispersing those prestiges of [redacted] strength and stability with which he had laboured, by every means, to environ his throne. What might have been the issue of such an enterprise, if delayed till the arrival [redacted] famous twenty-ninth bulletin, giving an account of the loss of the army, which spread consternation throughout the capital, and which he had the audacity to close with—“ *The Emperor is well!* ”

Napoleon, for these causes, setting out precipitately for Paris, intrusted the broken remains of [redacted] army [redacted] the [redacted] experienced of his generals;—to Murat, who [redacted] so bravely commanded the cavalry, but who forsook his post to return to Naples; to Ney, the hero, rather than prince, of Moskwa, whose [redacted] will be immortal in the records of glory, and his [redacted] an everlasting disgrace to the vengeance of party. Eugene, more [redacted] any other leader, [redacted] enabled to preserve some degree of discipline among the Italians, in the [redacted] of universal route; and it was remarked,

of the south endured the horrors of this campaign better than the soldiers of less genial climes: as if nature, in their constitution, had tempered them by the opposite.

Napoleon arrived in Paris on the 12th December, at eight o'clock in the evening. He was accompanied by Caulaincourt, whose brother had fallen in the battle of Moskwa, and who had thus passed many days alone with him. I saw the Emperor engaged against Savary, whom Caulaincourt laboured to exculpate: he was, in truth, not more to be blamed for the conspiracy of these madmen, than Napoleon for the frost which had destroyed his army. The dismissal of Rovigo was expected, the more so, that Fouché was come to Paris. But, better informed of the whole proceedings, Napoleon merely dismissed Frochet, prefect of the Seine, who had little to say in the matter at all; remarking, that his own life and liberty were every day in the power of the colonel of the guard.

The return of Napoleon nothing resembled former triumphal entries into his capital; and it was remarked, that the very first great success he had experienced, attended on his first enterprise, his marriage with Maria Louisa; then, more than ever, the belief became popular, that Josephine's presence had brought him good fortune. Superstitious as he was in some respects, I will not swear that he himself, at the bottom of his heart, did not participate in this persuasion.

From this date, Napoleon began to pay regard no longer even to the forms of legal proceedings in the government. He gave himself at liberty, thinking the serious position which he stood would justify every thing. Nor did he deny, while we unreservedly approved his conduct, that the necessities were great, and that they impressed an almost incredible activity upon every means of repairing losses, and bringing back victory.

to ■ standard. All advanced together; a new artillery was created; men were called forth in masses; the greatest sacrifices were required, or, to speak properly, enforced by the still magic power of Napoleon: the eye of the Emperor was every where. He was obeyed; but what complaints throughout the whole extent of the empire! Young men, who had already satisfied the exigencies of former conscriptions, were now torn from their homes. Those who had paid ■ substitutes, to ■ amount ■ 15,000 francs, (£ 700,) were called upon ■ near his own person, in the guard of honour, an institution ■ established for the ■ time. ■ creation struck a species of terror into the upper ranks of society, against whose members it ■ particularly directed. In ■ part of the empire, however, was it ■ hardly endured than in Holland; but nothing could bend Napoleon. Every where ■ now acted upon the principle, that the ■ and the last ■ were his.

Notwithstanding this activity, the ■ of the Russian campaign ■ daily pressing heavy ■ his ■ Prussia, constrained to play ■ part, now resolved ■ act in her own interest; and General Yorck, who commanded ■ Prussian contingent, which had been attached to the corps of Macdonald, went over to the Russians. I dare not trust myself ■ characterise the conduct of ■ king on ■ occasion, who, though in ■ heart approving this defection, yet ■ the General tried and condemned for having acted contrary to his orders; and, in a ■ time, ■ seen, commanding in person, his armies ranged against ■ The moral effect produced by this desertion was far more to be dreaded than its ■ amount; for, in the ■ levies ■ daily raising, a few thousands, ■ less, in ■ enemies' ranks, could ■ of no consequence. But the signal thus given, it was to be feared, would ■ speedily followed by other ■ in Germany,

and Napoleon foresaw, in this event, all of misfortune which foreboded the future. Assembling a privy council, composed of ministers, officers of state, and a few of the great functionaries of the household, he demanded, whether, in such a juncture, he ought to make overtures of peace, or prepare himself for war? Cambacérès and Talleyrand, who, with the president of the senate, had been called to the council, argued in favour of peace, — no gracious proposition to the ears of Napoleon, especially after defeat; so they were not heard. But the Duke de Feltré, Clarke, knowing how to touch the sensitive cord in the soul of Bonaparte, had the audacity to say, that he would consider the Emperor as dishonoured, if he consented to abandon the smallest village which had been united to the empire by a senatorial decree. What a fine thing it was to talk! This opinion prevailed, and the Emperor proceeded. Nor do I say that the Emperor was blamable in hesitating to treat at this stage; but I blame him much for having neglected to do so seriously and in good faith at Dresden, after victories at Lützen and Bautzen had proved, that in his retreat from Moscow, the climate, rather than the Russians, had vanquished him.

The Pope was still at Fontainebleau, and now added somewhat to Napoleon's inquietudes, by refusing to ratify the concordat, which he had signed: but the Emperor had no leisure for such disputes; so the concordat was published as Pius VII. subscribed it. His whole soul lay beyond the Rhine. He was unfortunate, and the powers were nearly all falling away; Austria the only one to imitate the example of Prussia. On this, Count Louis de Narbonne was sent to Vienna; but in vain: Austria was a contingent, — a clear proof to Napoleon that she would soon assume more active hostility, and that, ere long, he would have the whole of Europe against him. His bold mind was troubled, but not cast down. A few of the

Princes of the Confederation still remained faithful ; and, his own preparations being finished, he was about to resume, in person, the command of the army thus miraculously renewed. This time, however, taught experience by Mallet's affair, Napoleon appointed the Empress Regent, assisted by a Council of Regency ; and, convoking a privy council, he presented Maria Louisa, in her new capacity, with all possible solemnity.

For a length of time prior to Napoleon's departure the army, the body of which lay in Saxony, partial insurrections broken out at several points. But, with the exception of some rumoured disturbances in La Vendée, the interior of France remained perfectly tranquil. Not so in the provinces annexed by force to the empire ; especially in the north, and particularly in the unfortunate Hanse Towns, and in Hamburg an actual revolt had broken out. Effervescence reigned, too, in Westphalia, the borders of the Elbe, augmented by the news of the march of the Russian and Prussian troops which were descending that river.

I had dined with Duroc a few days before his departure for the grand army, for such was the name given to the army which Napoleon commanded in person. Duroc had enough of war ; though not for his repose, but for the interests of France and of the Emperor, he desired peace. This excellent friend had lately married the daughter of M. Hervas ; he had become a father, and longed to taste the calm of domestic life, so congenial to the natural disposition of his character. Not one personal complaint proceeded from his lips. When I urged him to press the Emperor to conclude peace, even at the expense of some sacrifices, he only replied, with an expression of deep rooted pain, " You might do so, were you still near him, because you wear not a sword ; but when we venture such moderate counsels, he ever thinks of himself only."

'The plain meaning of all this,' he tells us, 'is, that you are tired of war; you wish to enjoy your fine fortunes in Paris: do I take care to myself?' What would you have me reply in such language," continued Duroc; "we must drain this cup; we must rise with him: Well! if he falls, we will fall together. But what of me, I confess, and to you I can make no confession, is no slight regret expressed for our old companions and arms. He observes, in a solemn tone, 'Such a man is a brave man!' and next moment thinks no more of him." When I bade adieu to Duroc, little did I think it was for ever.

Napoleon at length quitted Paris, on the 18th April, having under his standard a new army of one hundred and eighty thousand effective men, excluding guards of honour. With such physical resources, and the aids of his own genius, men rightly foresaw he could yet play a high game, and might, perhaps, prove the winner. This reflection was by no means reassuring to those who had already made movements in opposition, and filled with especial apprehension the Hanseatic countries. Along the line of the Elbe, and in Saxony, was the grand theatre of events. In the former, insurrectionary and hostile movements took place on a large scale. Carra St Cyr had precipitately retreated from Hamburg, which had been occupied by the Cossacks, under Colonel Tettenborn, and by Prussian and Russian regular forces. In conjunction with other members of the Hanseatic league, the city, instead of friendly reception of the enemy, sent forth thousands of men for the service of the allies. These troops, by the discipline which they subsequently committed, justly merited their designation of *Cossacks of the Elbe*. St Cyr being under arrest for this injudicious and even cowardly retreat, Vandamme took the command of the forces of this quarter, and Napoleon marched to the grand theatre of Saxony.

The former, during the night of the 2d of May, attacked and carried the islands of the Elbe. On the 9th the corps of Vandamme and Davoust formed a junction, composing a body of forty thousand men, on their way to the grand army. Though Napoleon, urged by strong necessity, desired the speedy arrival of this reinforcement, he gave orders to the Prince of Eckmühl not to leave Hamburg in the rear, cost what it might. After a siege of twenty days, the Prussian, Swedish, and Russian garrisons gave place; and, after seventy days of independence, Hamburg was again united to the empire. Vandamme made the inhabitants pay for this brief enjoyment of their privileges. Of this general the Emperor said, at Dresden, "Were I to lose Vandamme, I know not what I would give to have him restored; but, if I had two, I should be obliged to shoot one of them." One, indeed, was quite enough in his conscience: his principle in the conquered countries was, "We first commence by shooting a few rascals, which prevents the trouble of future explanation."

In the mean time had been fought, on the 2d of May, the battle of Lützen, at the close of which, both parties claiming the victory, the result was in either camp. The subsequent motions of the two armies, and the advance of Napoleon, inclined opinion to his side. His was in reality the advantage — an illustrious two years before, the day of the triumph of Gustavus Adolphus.* Eight days afterwards the Emperor was in Dresden; not as in the spring of last year, like the sovereign of western Europe, surrounded by his grand vassals; yet still counting on his fortune. He remained ten days in the beautiful capital of the sole king, of all those whom he

* See the elegant, faithful, and spirited Translation of Schiller's Historical Works, in *Constable's Miscellany*, by George Mair, Esq. — Translator.

created, continued the declining of the benefactor, and whose honourable adherence to his word subsequently cost him half his kingdom. Departing from Dresden, the Emperor out in pursuit of the army, which encountered on 18th Bautzen. This battle, followed the morrow and day by those of Wurtzen Ochkirchan, continued consequently during three days, which speaks sufficiently for the keenness of the contest. Victory declared at length in our favour. But Napoleon, and I may say France, sustained a great loss; for the same cannon ball killed General Kirschner, he conversed with Duroc, mortally wounded latter in the abdomen.

The time was now come for Austria to declare herself, and all her amicable demonstrations were limited to an offer of mediating between the belligerent powers. This brought on the armistice of Plattsburgh, and subsequently the congress of Prague. In these conferences the allies demanded the restitution of all they had lost since the campaign of Ulm, in 1805. This was Belgium, Piedmont, Nice, and Savona. But nothing would induce the Emperor, ill advised as he then was, to recede to such an extent. Yet can we easily conceive how he could have expected more. Between the 20th June and 8th July, when the armistice was to cease, arrived the news of the conquest of Vittoria, and the conquest of the whole of Spain by the English. This greatly improved the aspect of affairs in the allied camp, without altering the resolutions of the Emperor. Had he been advised with courage, and by men of good sense, the profound grief which that victory certainly caused, would have induced him to yield to the necessity of peace.

This epoch arrived at the camp. We have thought, we have written, the general came at the solicitation of Bernadotte. This is neither more nor likely. The

truth I know to be, that the princes of the house of [redacted] overtures to [redacted] [redacted] of the 18th Fructidor, [redacted] Willot, who had attached himself [redacted] [redacted] I also positively know, that General Moreau, [redacted] [redacted] Baltimore, would in no wise adopt [redacted] [redacted] the [redacted] [redacted] the Bourbons. I likewise know, [redacted] the Duke de Berry wrote a letter to General Willot, in which [redacted] to see [redacted] assume the green cockade: * the noble prince, at the same time, declared, that, come what might, never should a foreign badge disgrace his own crest. Moreau, in fact, yielded only to a passion of his own, the desire of wreaking [redacted] vengeance upon Napoleon:—and found a grave, where he could not [redacted] glory.

Towards the end of July, Napoleon made an [redacted] excursion to Mayence, where the Emperor [redacted] him for [redacted] a few days; thence he returned to Dresden, [redacted] allowed the armistice to expire on the 17th August. [redacted] congress [redacted] Prague having [redacted] separated without attaining any result, hostilities recommenced [redacted] the 17th, and, [redacted] the [redacted] day—a [redacted] blow for France—Austria declared against [redacted] the Emperor alleging to his son-in-law, that the greater the number of his enemies, the greater was the chance of bringing him [redacted] [redacted] reasonable [redacted] This [redacted] of two hundred and fifty thousand men to the allied ranks, arrayed against Napoleon upwards [redacted] a million of [redacted] [redacted].

On the 24th, [redacted] days after the rupture of [redacted] conferences, [redacted] fought the battle of Dresden: victory remained with Napoleon; but the defeat and capture of Vandamme in [redacted] rendered fruitless the success [redacted] Saxony. [redacted] conflict [redacted] [redacted] memorable by the death of Moreau.† All the corps of [redacted] army which were in action at this time suffered a reverse;

* The Russian uniform is green.

† See Appendix, B.

yet though constantly talking of fortune, he perceived that he was abandoning his standards. The example was given, and he deserted, those troops whom the Emperor had adopted, as it were, on the field of battle—whom he trained to victory, joined the hostile ranks. The month of October opened with the conflict of Wachen, in which the disaster was nearly balanced. The battle of Leipzig, fought on the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th of October, decided the fate of France, and became the signal of our grand disasters. My army, the last which I remained with, went to the enemy, and the battle yet raged; a battle ill rewarded, though so useful to the allies.

As usual, I enter not into the details of battles, but shall here say what I know regarding the deaths of those men, who were sincerely lamented, and deserving each of the respect of all,—Duroc and Poniatowski. Napoleon also regretted Duroc, not from sensibility, but because he had found his services most useful: he it was, who, as grand chancellor of the household, established that admirable order which reigned in the economy of the palace: but Napoleon, wishing to make a parade of his grief, after having arranged the scene of the tragic death of Duroc, put into a bulletin a pompous expression of sorrow, and Duroc's reply, as follows:—"Sire, my whole existence has been consecrated to your service, and I regret this only that it might have been useful to you. Yes, sire, we shall meet again one day, but that will be thirty years hence; when you have triumphed over your enemies, and realized all the hopes of your country.* I have lived as an honest man; I have nothing wherewith to reproach myself. I leave a daughter; your majesty will be a father to my orphan."

* Bonaparte affected to lay great stress upon the expression "thirty years."—*Author.*

Not one word of all this was true; the discourse, like the one made by the First Consul for Desaix at Marengo, was composed and put forth expressly for the occasion. I suppose he took from Homer the idea of making his heroes speak in the hour of death. But the truth is, Duroc laboured under the most excruciating agony. In such a moment, the sufferer is neither very eloquent, nor much inclined to talk. I affirm to have seen at the time a private letter, written arrived by express from an eye-witness, who had accompanied the Emperor, and held an office near his person. In this letter, which was addressed to a minister, the writer cautioned [redacted] against attaching the least credit to the official account; and stated, that Duroc, suffering greatly, and seeing the visit was prolonged, turned himself painfully upon the left side, and, motioning with his right hand for the Emperor to withdraw, addressed him in these words:—"Ah! sire, leave [redacted] to [redacted] peace."

As corroborating, in some measure, this account, I cite a fact which I guarantee. [redacted] departing for the campaign of 1812, Duroc sent to beg me to [redacted] to his apartments in the Tuileries, where I often visited him. He descended about mid-day from the Emperor's cabinet, where he had, as usual, been transacting business, and was in full court dress. I had been [redacted] for him about five minutes. He had scarcely entered, when, throwing aside his coat, and hanging up his hat, he said to me, "I am going to give [redacted] an account of a conversation which I had concerning you last night with the Emperor; say nothing about [redacted] to any [redacted] wait with patience, and you will be"—He had hardly [redacted] "you will be," when a [redacted] man entered,—“My Lord, the Emperor desires to see you immediately.” Duroc answered in an angry voice,—"Enough—'tis well—not so loud—I am coming.” The [redacted] had no sooner shut the door, than Duroc, who was in his shirt, stamping violently on the floor,

with his right foot, exclaimed,—“That ———, during ——— day, never lets me rest—If I have five minutes of enjoyment, he grudges, and takes them from me.” Putting on his coat, he said,—“Another day, my good ———;”—and hurried away. The ——— paign of ——— intervened between ——— meeting, and ——— till January, 1814, ——— conversation resumed. On ——— occasion, Duroc was strongly affected at what had happened since we last met, but ——— in Napoleon's genius still cheered his hopes. To ——— from gloomy thoughts, I reminded him of our strangely interrupted conversation. “The evening preceeding the day in question,” said he, “the Emperor was amusing himself at ——— with me—by the way, he plays wretchedly; he is poor at games of skill—while carelessly knocking his ——— about, he muttered the question,—‘Duroc, do you see Bourrienne always as formerly?’—‘Yes, sire, ——— frequently to dine with ——— our diplomatic days; ——— looks ——— in ——— antiquated costume of Lyons stuff, you would laugh at the figure he cuts.’—‘Eh, well; what says he of that regulation?’—‘I must confess he says it is ridiculous—that forced innovations will ——— prove successful.’—‘That is always his way, constantly finding fault;—though he served me well at Hamburg. He understands business; but he has many enemies. His letter, however, ——— opened my ——— and I begin to think Savary was right in defending him. There are people who labour constantly to prevent my intrusting him with affairs; but I shall finish by recalling him. I do not forget that it was he who gave me the first notice of this war in which we are now engaged. I have forgotten every thing they have been saying against him for these two years; and, as soon as peace is concluded, and I am at leisure, I shall remember him; keep me informed of ——— is doing.’” Alas, I saw my excellent friend but once more, on the day I dined with him,

before the campaign at Dresden, wherein he fell.

But the death of such a man as Duroc was not only a loss to Napoleon; it produced a serious effect, injurious to his cause; and of each old companion in arms, the victim of his ambition, exposed a greater execration his insatiable thirst of power. Prince Poniatowski, next Duroc, thus occupied all mind during the campaign of 1806. Joseph Poniatowski, nephew of the last king of Poland, Stanislaus-Augustus, had lately been a prisoner of France, when he fell at Leipzig. Retreat having become indispensable, Napoleon took leave of the King of Saxony and his family, who accompanied him from Dresden. The Emperor then cried out, in a loud voice, to the inhabitants who filled the square, "Saxons, farewell!" and reached, with difficulty, and by a circuitous passage, the suburb of Runstadt. He then quitted Leipzig by the outer gate, which leads to the bridge over the Elster, and to Lindenau, the only road to France. A little after he had crossed, the bridge blew up, and much too late, since the catastrophe completely prevented the retreat of all that portion of the army which had not yet passed, and which, consequently, remained in the power of the enemy. At that time, Napoleon was accused of having given orders for the destruction of the bridge immediately after his crossing, in order to prevent the retreat and the active pursuit of the enemy. The English journals were unanimous on this point, and there were few of the inhabitants of Leipzig who doubted the fact. To destroy this, at the moment, general opinion, following notice inserted in the *Moniteur*:—"The Emperor had issued instructions to the engineers, to lay mines under the principal bridge between Leipzig and Lindenau, in order that it might be blown up at the last moment, thus to retard the enemy's march, and allow time for the baggage train to desile. General Dumas had given this operation

in charge to Colonel Montfort. Colonel, instead of remaining in his station, to superintend and give the signal, ordered a corporal to blow up the bridge, on the appearance of the enemy. The corporal, a man void of intelligence, on hearing the attack, shot himself from the ramparts of the city, fired the train, and blew up the bridge. A portion of the army, with a park of eighty pieces of artillery, and hundreds of carriages, was still on the other side. The advance of that part of the army which had not yet crossed, the bridge destroyed, believed it to be in possession of the enemy. A fearful cry arose, and ran from rank to rank. "The enemy are on our rear, and have also broken down the bridges!" These unfortunate men then disbanded, each sought safety as he might. The Duke of Tarentum (Macdonald) crossed the river by swimming, Prince Poniatowski, mounted on a spirited horse, plunged into the water, and has since appeared. The Emperor was informed too late to remedy the disaster. No remedy, in fact, was possible. Colonel Montfort and the corporal of sappers have been delivered up to a court-martial. It is remarkable that this said court-martial was never held. What are we to conclude? nothing, unless it is one of the secrets which cannot be revealed, but by the initiated.

His passage of the Elster, Napoleon had directed the Prince, in concert with Marshal Macdonald, to the retreat, and to guard that part of the suburb which extended towards the post of the road from Borna. To accomplish this, he had only two thousand Polish infantry. Such was his situation, when, perceiving retreat cut off, even before the bridge blew up, by the retreating squadrons of men, artillery, and carriages, he unsheathed his sabre, and, turning to the few who accompanied him, "Gentlemen," said he, "here we must fall with honour." At the head of the

body of officers cuirassiers, forward on the advancing columns of the allies. In this action he received a ball in the left arm: already had he been wounded on the 14th and 16th. Still he advanced, but found the suburb filled with the troops. Again he exposed himself, and again was wounded. He then threw himself into the Pleisse, which lay between the party and the Elster, and, assisted by his officers, gained the opposite bank, but lost his charger in the stream. Though much fatigued, he mounted another horse, and gained the Elster, through the gardens of M. Reichenbach, which run along the river. Time pressed: the greater part of the troops were drowned in the Pleisse and the Elster. Here the banks were steep, and, though the Prince was wounded, he leaped his steed into the river, when both horse and rider were engulfed. The same attended several other officers who followed the example: many were taken on the bank; Macdonald happily escaped. Five days after, a fisherman found the corpse of the Prince, and brought it ashore. A modest stone marked the place where the Prince's body was found. The Poles expressed M. de Reichenbach their desire of erecting in his garden a monument to their countryman. The generous banker had already placed a beautiful sarcophagus in the centre of a green sward, surrounded with magnificent weeping willows.*

The great battle commenced on the 14th October, the anniversary of the famous victories of Ulm and Jena; continued four days; and decided the fate of Europe. During these days of desertion, over a million of men engaged together on a surface of three square leagues. From this bloody field Napoleon retreated to Mayence, which he entered, but not without more conflicts, on the 2d of November, and

* There is a slight mistake in this description. See Appendix, C.

thence to Paris. During this campaign of Dresden, the regency of the Empress had given general satisfaction, because she had refused to place her name to sentences of death; but had signed, with great alacrity, every pardon which the nature of the crime would permit. These circumstances I [redacted] the Duke of Rovigo, (Savary,) who, I must in justice say, of all Napoleon's ministers, then [redacted] truly appreciated, and most honestly declared, the true state [redacted] things. I recollect, also, [redacted] he [redacted] permission [redacted] join the Emperor at Mayence, during the conferences [redacted] Prague, with the intention of urging him [redacted] peace, [redacted] whatever sacrifices. [redacted] entertained [redacted] persuasion, [redacted] he should have succeeded. I partook not in [redacted] illusions; but he [redacted] not permitted to leave Paris; and besides, as already described, Napoleon and [redacted] Louisa passed there only a few days.

When the signal of our final disasters had been heard, the [redacted] and course of [redacted] change fell progressively. After the battle of Leipsic especially, the fall became considerable. [redacted] have already said, that Napoleon entertained [redacted] [redacted] notions [redacted] public credit, and, consequently, [redacted] [redacted] terribly alarmed by any depression in the funds. And the admirable plans which he conceived [redacted] remedy this? [redacted] [redacted] to purchase stock, in order to keep up the [redacted] [redacted] a [redacted] by which [redacted] [redacted] prudent counsels could [redacted] persuade [redacted] [redacted] abandon. [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] ? — when public [redacted] suffered a check, down [redacted] [redacted] funds, and, [redacted] sellers [redacted] always sure to [redacted] [redacted] good buyer, stock [redacted] [redacted] sold [redacted] [redacted] market. But [redacted] play [redacted] [redacted] enough. He had recourse [redacted] trickeries, which might be termed even childish; for instance, announcing in the [redacted] [redacted] the course of exchange at 80, when [redacted] actually stood at 60. [redacted] the crisis had passed, and things [redacted] resumed their ordinary direction, [redacted] erratum would appear, stating that [redacted] 8 had appeared [redacted] a former paper instead of a 6. In [redacted] illusive play, [redacted]

Emperor expended upwards of 60,000,000 of francs (£2,500,000,) which would have been much employed in purchasing bills in London upon Paris. Bonaparte never could comprehend, that the rise or fall of the public funds depends on a proper or improper administration; on the good or bad faith of the debtor; on a state of peace or war; and, finally, on a judicious or imprudent system of sinking fund. To Emperor, however, a sinking fund was merely a resource whence he could draw, upon an emergency.

At this epoch, namely, the autumn of the year 1813, more the imperial government verged towards decline, a circumstance difficult to explain, the more extensively it multiplied vexatious measures. From the first disasters of the campaign of Moscow, it had seemed good, in order to prevent the truth from circulating, to intercept all communications; to cut off all means of giving vent either to grief or friendship; and the order was accordingly issued to seize, at the post-office, all letters coming from, or destined for, foreign parts. This mode of investigation, however, as Napoleon, at St Helena, has well remarked, being stale at Paris, black cabinets were established in conquered countries. They placed at Ostend, Brussels, Hamburg, Berlin, Milan, and Florence. All that was required, was an order from a superior authority for a letter to be seized, and a copy transmitted to the Emperor. This intolerable abuse influenced not a little the of the empire. cruel abuses had aided in bringing about the Revolution and the expulsion of the Bourbons, and they assisted in their restoration. At this period, however, Europe, armed against us, certainly not yet begun think of recalling princes to the throne of France.

The month of November, 1813, was fatal to the fortune of Napoleon; on all hands, our armies were driven back, and forced to the Rhine. In every direction, the allied columns advanced towards that river.

The fall of the empire evidently approached; but that the foreign sovereigns had yet resolved upon its destruction, but because it was impossible for Napoleon to contend against all Europe; he knew, however desperate the situation of his affairs, he would not consent to a peace, falsely regarded as dishonourable. Even before the battle of Leipzig, the loss which was to Napoleon incalculable, and the consequences ruinous, he felt the necessity of demanding from France, as if she had been inexhaustible, a levy of two hundred thousand men. The commission devolved upon the Empress, who, for this purpose, proceeded, at the same time, to the senate, in great haste. She succeeded; but the splendour of the empire was on the wane. Hardly were these men enrolled, when war devoured them. The defection of the Bavarians had much increased the difficulty of the retreat; for, getting before the wrecks of the army, they had preoccupied Hanau, situated about four leagues from Frankfort, with the design of cutting off the French valour more roused its energies; the Bavarians were attacked, defeated with great slaughter, and our army reached Mayence. But in what a condition, good Heavens! Could there be of an army be given to these masses of men, without discouraging, borne down by fatigue and privations, and, in short, reduced, through misery, to a kind of brutishness? At no preparations had been made for their reception; these wrecks of soldiers, of themselves, were attacked by contagious maladies; the horror of their situation was complete. The disasters even of 1812, which had been remedied by the activity of her chief, and the sacrifices of France; but those very sacrifices were irreparable misfortunes.

Including the feeble remnants which had escaped the fatal consequences of the consequent miseries,

and eighty thousand whom Maria Louisa had obtained from the senate, in the month of October, the Emperor had still one hundred and twenty thousand veteran troops. These, however, had been left in the rear, shut up in fortresses,—such as Dantzic, Hamburg, Torgau, and Spandau, or scattered along the Elbe. Still, such was the horror of their situation, none of ours, none of theirs, resolved to abandon, while it was impossible to relieve, them. Meanwhile, the allies were advancing on an immense base of operation; and in one month after the former, a new levy of three hundred thousand men was demanded from France. Then only her wounds seemed probed to the bottom. After the battle of Leipzig, she thus lost to France a second formidable army, all the powers of the coalition pledged themselves to each other, at Frankfort, on the 9th of November, never to separate before a general peace had been established, and to suspend all armistice or negotiation, which had not such peace for its object. As the basis of pacification, the allied powers declared, that France should be permitted to retain her natural boundaries of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees.

Here I briefly recall some reminiscences which may explain why Napoleon did not seriously incline to these, in the circumstances of the case, advantageous propositions. We have seen that the signal of defection had been given, in 1812, by the corps of General Yorck, but without at least the ostensible consent of the King of Prussia. Napoleon desired to appear unaffected by this desertion, though I am convinced he deceived himself as to the ulterior consequences; and, from that moment, his whole conduct, where negotiation was concerned, plainly showed that he had assumed as his secret device, "*All or nothing.*" At that very period he rejected the sage advice of Cambacérès and of Talleyrand, in order to adopt the boasting of Clarke. I recollect, what I then omitted to insert, that this latter

exclaimed, "magnanimity, on the question of restitution,—“You will be dishonoured, if the meanest village, once united to the empire by a *senatusconsultum*, be dismembered.” On hearing this, the Emperor cried out, “Excellent! That’s what I call speaking. A dishonourable peace is unworthy of France. Let us to arms!” Whoever has known Bonaparte knows what was the influence of his will when positively expressed, and that such an opinion, enunciated in his imposing and stern tones, would away all sentiments not yet declared. At all events, no one, I believe, will venture to maintain that Napoleon desired peace in 1812: Well, if he were then opposed to it, *a fortiori*, he would adhere to his opposition after the disasters at Leipsic. I judge of him as they would estimate some of their fellows; but he stood apart, both in his littleness and his grandeur. Will it be said that he would have made peace because it was necessary? but the more it became necessary, the less of advantage it presented, and consequently the farther was he removed from desiring it. Even power, which he so strongly coveted, and which he exercised so imperiously, so despotically—power, in the *thought*, was to him but a means, the grand aim was glory,—futuraity,—the mightiness of a name in the *of* posterity. I am assured, *five* shocks which finally hurled him from his throne, were to him less painful than would have been the restraint of living quietly *Emperor* France, reduced to her ancient limits, and being condemned to behold his vast conquests governed by other laws than his. Napoleon was thus, because such was his nature; and that in this estimate I have truly portrayed the *man*, his whole conduct proves.

According to the above propositions of the allies, termed, from the place whence they were issued, the Declaration of Frankfort, Germany, Italy, and Spain were to be entirely wrested from the possession of

France. Thus, a small part only of the mighty empire, founded by Napoleon, was thus to be left; still, the portion that remained was large and valuable, after so many disasters, and while such vast armies threatened us on every side, borne to our very frontiers on the tide of victory. The conditions were, in truth, a real homage rendered to France, and to the valour of Frenchmen. A French enthusiasm, a devotedness only, could have regarded as an honour, a prince, who, after having ravaged the world for fifteen years, still preserved such a territory. England, too, recognised the liberty of commerce and navigation, and manifested, apparently, the most sincere dispositions to make great sacrifices, in order to attain the objects proposed by the allies. But these offers added a fatal condition,—that representatives from the belligerent powers should assemble in a city, to be declared neutral, on the right bank of the Rhine, *but without interrupting, by these negotiations, the course of warlike operation.*

The Duke de Bassano, then minister for foreign affairs, replied to these overtures generally, consenting to the congress, and requesting that Mannheim might be chosen as the neutral city. In this reply, no mention was made of accepting the preliminary basis of pacification. Napoleon reserved the power of negotiating separately with England. To this note, Metternich replied on the 11th November, acceding, on the part of the allies, to the proposal of the congress, but requesting a separate conference on the part of Emperor Napoleon as to the summary and general views of pacification, lest otherwise insurmountable difficulties might arise. The Duke of Vicenza, who had succeeded to the portfolio of foreign affairs, received this letter, and, relying upon the assurances of Frankfort, believed he could treat upon these bases, and frankly accepted, trusting to the consent of Napoleon. But the allies had now decided no longer to grant the territorial

limits yielded in that declaration. Caulaincourt obliged to apply for new powers. Having received them, he replied, on the 2d of December, that Napoleon accepted the fundamental bases, as ~~proposed~~. To this letter, Metternich again replied, that the Emperors of Russia and Austria were gratified to find that the Emperor of the French recognised bases deemed necessary by the allies, ~~and~~ sovereigns decided to communicate, without delay, ~~the~~ document to the other members of the coalition, and that they ~~were~~ convinced negotiations might ~~be~~ opened the moment their answer arrived, *without the war being interrupted.*

negotiations, however, produced ~~no~~. The allies overthrew the colossus of the French empire, in the month of October, and thenceforth had resolved to treat with the Emperor of the French only in ~~his~~ capital, ~~as~~ he had formerly treated with the Emperors of Austria and Russia. Napoleon, on the other hand, wished merely to gain time, and, in reality, never thought of listening to the offers at Frankfort. He profited, however, by these ~~offers~~ to raise the immense levy of three hundred thousand men, in order, as he ~~did~~, to place France in an imposing attitude, and ~~to~~ her to negotiate, not to submit to, a peace. This last effort was made in ~~the~~ confidence that the Emperor sincerely ~~desired~~ peace, and would think only of France; ~~and~~ who, I ask, would have given up his children, or ~~his~~ fortune, that Joseph might rule in Spain, ~~and~~ Jerome reign in Westphalia?

The allies, having been informed of the multitude ~~of~~ which the Emperor had demanded, ~~and~~ well of the ~~of~~ of the public mind in France, published a manifesto, addressed to the French people, which ~~was~~ a grand ~~to~~ to men, ~~and~~ the ~~to~~ to ~~attached~~ to ~~promises~~ ~~of~~ governments. —“The French government,” ~~the~~ document, “having decreed a new levy of three hundred thou-

sand men, the Allied Powers, who, by this act, have received ~~no~~ provocation, ~~must~~ it expedient ~~to~~ declare to ~~the~~ world the principles which guide ~~the~~ present war. The Allied Powers do not make war against France, but against the unjust preponderance claimed and exercised by the Emperor Napoleon, beyond the limits of his empire. Condemned by victory to the banks of the Rhine, the Allied Powers ~~used~~ used their success only to offer peace to the Emperor of France, on honourable conditions, and on a basis ~~of~~ independence of ~~the~~ Allied Powers wish to see France great, powerful, and happy, and ~~confirm~~ to her an ~~extent~~ of empire, greater than she ever knew under her kings. But the allied sovereigns wish also to see their own people happy and tranquil; they desire, by an equitable partition of forces, and a just balance of territory, to secure their own states from those calamities which, for twenty years, have desolated Europe. The Allied Powers will not lay down their arms till this great and benevolent design is accomplished."

The good ~~idea~~ of these fine promises may be judged of from the treaty of Paris; but it is certain that this manifesto contributed to alienate from Napoleon's ~~the~~ hearts of many who had, till then, remained faithful; since, by giving credit to ~~the~~ declaration of the allies, they beheld in him the only obstacle to peace,—the universal wish of France. Nor, in this respect, were the Allies deceived; and I confess having read, with no little surprise, that part of the Duke de Rovigo's *Memoirs* where he speaks of this manifesto, accusing its authors of falsely representing the Emperor "as a furious man, who replied to their ~~over~~tures of peace by levies ~~and~~ conscriptions." But, on this point, what did they ~~say~~ which was not true? How otherwise explain the fact, that, in the year 1813 alone, Napoleon had levied one million and forty thousand ~~men~~?

After all, I have no intention of maintaining that

the declaration of the allies was candid, as respected the future : most certainly it was not so. Napoleon's destruction evidently appeared to have been sworn. Even the Swiss were now begun to be tampered with ; ■■■ means were employing to get their consent to the passage of the troops by the bridge of Basle. Meanwhile, affairs presented an equally unfavourable aspect in the south, where the Anglo-Spanish army menaced us on the Pyrenean frontier, and already occupied Pampeluna. The loss of that last position, which we had still preserved in Spain, more forcibly proved the sad condition to which France, on every hand, was reduced. The state of the interior was not less afflicting than the situation of affairs abroad ; if, on the one hand, the foreign powers made offers of peace, they nevertheless continued war ; and the departments bordering on the Rhine, throughout the whole of that frontier, were threatened with invasion. Men had been raised ; but that was not sufficient : the most essential necessities of an army were wanting. Every thing was to create. To meet the most urgent demands, the Emperor drew forth thirty millions (£1,250,000) from the immense treasury he had hoarded up in the Tuileries, in the vaults and galleries of the Pavilion Marsan. This sum disappeared, as if ingulfed ; but it was not less an act of generosity on the part of Napoleon, and I confess my inability to account for the complaints of the legislative body regarding this matter. These rigid legislators, who before dared not snuffe out a single word, while fortune smiled upon their master, had at length found their most sweet voices, and now demanded loudly, prior to the donative in question, ■■■ the three hundred and fifty millions (£15,000,000) in the imperial coffers should be transferred from the privy purse, to account on the public budget. Why had they permitted in silence such a sum, squeezed, by exaction, from the conquered provinces, to be hoarded

up ? There would have been danger in opposing ! *

At this deplorable period, every day brought new misfortunes,—inevitable consequences of the fatal campaign of Moscow. Dresden, still occupied by a French garrison, fell into the power of the allies ; and the sentiments of other powers were so far changed towards Frenchmen, before whom they had so often trembled, that ■ was not scrupled to violate the faith sworn to the garrison of the Saxon capital. Scarcely had the French troops marched beyond the walls, when they were disarmed, in the face of an engagement, upon which they had surrendered, to allow them to ■ France with arms and baggage. Ah ! had Napoleon once more resumed the ascendancy, he would have been excusable in signally avenging this perfidy—this insult offered to misfortune ! Holland, at the same time, welcomed with joy the hour of enfranchisement, and the arrival of ■ Russian corps ■ nanced ■ general but almost bloodless insurrection. Such was the love which the countries bore ■, and such the happiness we ■ conferred upon them ! But defection was not confined within the ■ ■ ■ empire : Murat had come to an understanding with the English, because otherwise he entertained a well-grounded fear that the throne of Naples would not long be his. Still it presented not one of the

* However culpable the former misdeeds of the legislative body might be, they were right in demanding the imperial board to be given up to the public necessities. Nor will the reader easily reconcile our author's justling about generosity, with the fact of Bonaparte's hesitation. In truth, it would be difficult, probably impossible, to find in history an instance of incapacity greater, than keeping up such a sum from useful circulation ; or of unfeeling cruelty more justly meriting the execration of all mankind, than withholding this aid, or doling out a fifteenth fraction of it, while he was calling upon every father in France for his last child, and his last frame, and enforcing the sacrifice !
— Translator.

least strange of the eventful occurrences of the period, to behold Neapolitans, with Bonaparte at their head, swelling the armed million arrayed against Napoleon and France.

In the conflict of difficulties which thus assailed the Emperor, he threw his eyes upon M. de Talleyrand, who, unfortunately for France, had been long absent from the ~~scene~~ of government. But, Napoleon having required that he should lay aside the dignity of vice grand elector, on becoming foreign minister, Talleyrand preferred one of the first posts in the state to a situation of which caprice might soon deprive him, while it exposed him to many ambitious machinations. Perhaps, too, Talleyrand's perspicacity led him to view the situation of affairs as desperate, and his acceptance as of doubtful good in circumstances so difficult. I have been assured, that, viewing things in their source, he proposed, in a conversation with the Emperor, the very extraordinary advice, to call into play the ambition of the English family of the Wellesleys, and to awaken in Wellington's mind, the splendour of whose fame had ~~been~~ begun to shine forth, ambitious views and projects, which would have troubled the coalition. To this scheme Napoleon lent no attention; the issue appeared to him too uncertain, and especially too distant, for the pressing exigencies of the season.

~~He~~ was then called to the administration of foreign affairs, and ~~he~~ became home secretary, where ~~he~~ was much better placed. Regnier quitted the portfolio of justice, and was succeeded by M. de Mole; and, at the same time, M. de Coigny resigned to Count General Daru the ministry of war.

During these slight changes of his servants, ~~the~~ Emperor himself was unceasingly engaged in preparing the means of repelling the attack now directed against him. ~~He~~ created all—overlooked all—performed all. Though ~~age~~ might have ~~been~~ thought to have taken from him some of his activity, yet, in

this crisis, I beheld him as in his most vigorous youth. That he might be enabled to direct the full force of his arms against the allies who menaced him on the side of Switzerland, he took a resolution, with regard to Spain, which might have exercised a decisive influence upon affairs. This was the renunciation of the crown, the renunciation of Joseph's rights over that country, and the immediate restoration of Ferdinand to his states. Joseph made this sacrifice at the instance of his brother, but reluctantly, and in a ■■■■ which shewed how hard it is to quit a throne. The treaty was signed, but ■■■■ with incon- ■■■■ tardiness, while the torrent advanced upon France so rapidly, as to interrupt the execution. Ferdinand indeed recovered his crown, but by causes very different.

The march of the allies occasioned to the Emperor intense anxiety. It was important to destroy the bridge of Basle. The Rhine, easily crossed, would throw the enemy in masses upon France. I had at this time a correspondence with a foreign diplomatist, whom I shall be excused naming: this correspondence assured ■■■■ bridge would be allowed to remain, and that such agreement had been made with the allies at Berne. ■■■■ astonished ■■■■ since, ■■■■ side, I had contrary information. I despatched an emissary on ■■■■ own private account, being deeply interested in knowing the truth. He returned to tell me that the bridge would be suffered to stand.

■■■■ December, the legislative body was convoked. M. Lainé presided under Regnier. ■■■■ formed itself into a committee, ■■■■ consider and report upon the communications addressed to it by the Emperor. The majority of the members ■■■■ felt the deplorable situation of France: they expressed these sentiments in their report. This was not what had been wanted by the Emperor, who desired that they should coincide ■■■■ his views of resistance: ■■■■ report ■■■■ seized, and the house adjourned. This

proceeding I have ever regarded as a great error. Had the Emperor and his legislature frankly communicated with each other, the defects of a diplomacy always so artificial and vacillating might have been supplied. Who can doubt that a noble and candid conduct on the part of the legislative body of France, declaring [] she accepted the prop[] at Frankfort, would have been listened to by the allies? Would they not have preferred an honourable peace to the dangers of invading a vast country, defended by an ardent [] valorous people? But the remark, "You will be dishonoured, if the meanest village, united to the empire by a *senatusconsultum*, be dismembered," continually resounded in Bonaparte's ear, whose secret wishes it flattered, and rendered him averse from every pacific measure.

Those who attentively observed events will still remember the general stupor which fell upon Paris on learning [] had occurred in the legislative assembly. [] body, according to custom, waited on the Emperor in order to take leave. He received the revolvers not over graciously, and dismissed them without hearing any explanation. Afterwards, he observed concerning them, "The members of the legislative body come [] Paris only to obtain some special favours. They importune ministers from morning to night, and grumble if not instantly satisfied. Invite them to dinner—they seem bursting with envy [] the splendour which surrounds them." These words I had from Cambacérès, who was present.

CHAPTER IV.

CRISIS ■■■ NAPOLEON'S FATE—ALLIES ■■■■
 IRELAND—A ■■■■ AND ■■■■ OFFERED TO
 ■■■■—SIEGE OF HAMBURG—DAVOUST—
 ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ OF
 MURAT—AFFAIRS IN FRANCE—GIGANTIC PLANS
 OF NAPOLEON—HIS VIEWS ■■■ PEACE—PROPOSALS
 ■■■ ■■■ JACOBINS—REJECTION—PARTING INTER-
 VIEW ■■■■ ■■■ OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL ■■■■

I HAVE NOW reached the most critical period in Napoleon's career. What reflections—supposing him to have had leisure to reflect—must have been in his mind, on comparing the remembrances of his dawning greatness with the sad associations of his glory in decay!—when he contrasted the standard of the army of Italy, which, in victorious youth, he presented to the Directory, with those drooping eagles constrained now to defend the cry whence they had so often dared their flight, to soar on conquering wing over Europe! The Revolution and the Republic teach the difference between freedom and absolute power. Child of liberty—every thing through her, Napoleon had disowned his parent, and was now to be again nothing. The season was gone by when the nations of Italy rejoiced to be vanquished, in the name of a free republic; on the contrary, to rescue herself from a despot's thrall, Europe stood armed around our country, ready to burst upon its sacred territory. Fraud was united with force, and both against the Emperor; while the mighty

still offered by France, ■■■■ paralysed through the inactivity of many agents of his government, while a stupor had ■■■■ upon all spirits,—he ■■■■ betrayed by those who yet professed themselves allies. Thus the Swiss voluntarily opened their frontiers, which, ■■■■ a neutral power, they had promised ■■■■ respected, ■■■■ defend, and the weakest side of France thus lay exposed to the blow.

This violation of the Swiss territory, by the allied armies, with ■■■■ of the cantons, is connected with a very ■■■■ circumstance in my life, which, ■■■■ I been inclined to take part in the mighty events then passing, might have effected a ■■■■ change in my destiny. On Tuesday the 28th of December, I ■■■■ dining with my friend M. Pierlot, formerly intendant-general of the Empress Josephine's establishment, when, about nine o'clock in the evening, ■■■■ express arrived from the minister of police, requesting my immediate attendance ■■■■ his residence. I confess it ■■■■ not without ■■■■ that I prepared to obey this summons. I knew, thanks to Davoust's calumnies, that I ■■■■ ■■■■ an object of suspicion, and at this very ■■■■ under surveillance, being obliged ■■■■ shew myself three ■■■■ a-week to Bavary; a species of restraint which, of course, ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ nothing disagreeable.

But I conceived that new accusations had ■■■■ plished ■■■■ threatenings of the ■■■■ two years, and that certainly I should now ■■■■ ■■■■ sleep at Vincennes. In truth, ■■■■ the Emperor's former kindness had seemed ■■■■ revive, machinations against ■■■■ had been redoubled. At all events, I deemed it best ■■■■ be prepared, so, borrowing a nightcap from my friend Pierlot, I marched on bravely to the hotel of the ■■■■ of police. Bavary I found in a chamber, fully lighted up, and evidently waiting for ■■■■ He ■■■■ ■■■■ grand costume, and ■■■■ apparently just ■■■■ from the Emperor. Before he had time to speak, I readily perceived he ■■■■ news to impart, and from

of satisfaction, assured that the word, Vincennes, was the word.

"Bourrienne," said this thoroughly good man, whom it had been endeavoured to represent as a monster, "I have just come from the Emperor. He asked me, 'Where is Bourrienne?'—'Sire, Paris; I see him often.'—'Well, send for him: I wish to employ him: for three years he has had nothing to do. I desire to send him in the capacity of ambassador; but he must set out immediately. The King of Prussia has expressed himself, by letter, satisfied with his conduct towards the Prussians, whom the chances of war had obliged to retire to Hamburg. He is the friend of Prince Wittgenstein, the friend again of the King of Prussia, who is probably also at Lorrach.* He will see the noble Germans who are there. I have sufficient confidence in him, and feel assured that his journey will be productive of good results. Caulaincourt will give him instructions.'" Notwithstanding my great amazement at this unexpected proposition, I replied, without hesitation, that I could accept the mission; and that it was offered me late. "You flatter yourselves that the bridge at Bâle will be destroyed—that Switzerland will maintain her neutrality; I believe neither—nay, more, I know positively the contrary. I can only reiterate that the offer comes much too late."—"Your resolution gives me much pain; but Caulaincourt may perhaps prevail upon you to accept. The Emperor desires you should call upon the Duke of Vicenza to-morrow, at three o'clock; he will tell you all about it, and give you instructions."—"I may do what he pleases; I will not go to Lorrach."—"But you know the Emperor better than I do; he wishes you

* Lorrach is a small village, about six miles from Bâle, and which had been fixed upon as the starting point of the Austro-Russian army. — Translator.

to go, and will never pardon your refusing; who knows what may be the consequences to you?" — "I will do as he likes; but upon consideration I go to Switzerland." — "You are wrong; but you will regret it of it between this and to-morrow: the night brings counsel. At all events, you will see Caulaincourt in one. He expects you. You will be there instantly, and will be with him." — "I know Caulaincourt. I know the happiness of being useful to him and his family, and an erasure from the emigrant list: he is an excellent person, and will listen to me; not, my part is already taken, and the Emperor can take his as suits himself."

It was eleven at night before I separated from the Duke de Rovigo, who continued to press me earnestly, but with friendly interest, to a change of resolution. Next morning I began by calling upon M. de Talleyrand, informed of what had occurred, he begged he would speak to M. de Caulaincourt, in favour of my determination. The former approved of my refusal; and at precisely I called upon the latter, at the foreign office, which had not yet been removed from the palace for which I was to have paid. The usher stationed at the door of the cabinet recognized, and, conformably to order, instantly announced me. M. de Caulaincourt made me sit down at the opposite end of the fire, beside which he was seated, and gave orders to the attendant to admit me. The Duke then, with a calmness and forbearance which surprised me, began to explain his commission. The conclusion was evident, that he was well aware of the present situation of affairs, and that he considered my proposed mission as vain. I answered with great composure, repeating the substance of my conversation with Savary, his colleague in the ministry, and my friend, of the result to which, as a refusal, he himself must be already acquainted. The minister entered into long details, and, in a

very friendly manner, on the reasons which induce me to accept. Among other things, he remarked, that, from the repeated denunciations of Davoust, the Emperor had been rendered ill disposed towards me, and that, by refusing, I ran of confirming his suspicions of my dispositions the future. I again replied generally on the inutility of the mission, and then particularly on my own situation—a private individual—appearing among the allied princes as one who had been three years removed from public affairs, and in measure in disgrace, without the decoration of the Legion of Honour. “If that be all,” interrupted M. Caulaincourt, “there is no difficulty. I am authorized by the Emperor to say, that he will create you a Duke, and invest you with the grand order of the Legion of Honour.” At these words I thought I was dreaming, and almost inclined to regard the minister as in jest. His offer, however, was serious; it is but honest to confess, that I found it tempting, I withstood the temptation, nevertheless, and persisted in my positive refusal. At length, after some farther discussion, the Duke, seeing his efforts vain, rose, which was a signal to me that our conference terminated; and I must confess, that, for some seconds, I remained very uncertain what to take. M. de Caulaincourt retiring slowly towards the door of his cabinet. As he departed without my knowing his opinion, I did nothing. Addressing him by his family name “Caulaincourt,” I returned towards me. “You have often assured me that you would never forget the services which I rendered your family, when possessing some credit. Look at the situation of France,—consider my circumstances. I do not ask for your secrets, but I will frankly say my conviction is, the Emperor will pass the in a few days. The Emperor has been deceived; I should not have time to arrive, and would be laughed at. I know you to be a man of

honour,—and tell me candidly, ■■■ ■■■ a friend, how would you act, ■■■ in my situation?" I saw, from the sudden and involuntary emotion expressed in his countenance, ■■■ my question ■■■ touched Caulaincourt. ■■■ pressed my ■■■ with affectionate warmth, and said, "I would do ■■■ you have done. Enough: I will arrange with the Emperor; keep yourself easy." In fact, I heard no more of the affair.

Here I feel myself constrained ■■■ anticipate with a short anecdote: In May, 1815, when the King had appointed ■■■ prefect of police, ■■■ ■■■ Caulaincourt sent, ■■■ the 15th of that month, a person, on whom dependences could be placed, ■■■ ask me, ■■■ he incurred any risk by remaining in Paris, ■■■ whether he ought to ■■■. The Duke had learned that his name ■■■ contained in a list of those whom I had orders to arrest. Much ■■■ by this mark of confidence, I replied with warmth to ■■■ Duke's envoy, "Say to M. de Caulaincourt that *I do not even know where he lives*: let him remain quiet, ■■■ I answer for ■■■ safety."

The reader is already aware, that ■■■ garrisons had been left ■■■ different parts of Germany. Dresden had fallen into the power of the enemy, by a capitulation which was not respected; ■■■ the troops, who had surrendered on condition of being ■■■ into France with ■■■ and baggage, ■■■ no ■■■ marched beyond the walls, than they were stript. Magdeburg, under Lemarrois, ■■■ held out, and ■■■ expected ■■■ do ■■■ for some time. Davoust resolved ■■■ render Hamburg a similar point of resistance. Of the extensive correspondence which I maintained ■■■ time with the exterior, my information from ■■■ Hamburg interested ■■■ especially. During ■■■ campaign of 1813, the allies, having driven ■■■ French out ■■■ Saxony, and constrained them to march for the Rhine, formed the siege of Hamburg, wherein Davoust ■■■ shut ■■■ with thirty thousand men, in ■■■ resolution of rendering

the defence no less memorable than that of Saragossa, and of delivering up the post only when the town had become a heap of ashes. Such were his expressions; and, it was acknowledged, he displayed much ability in carrying his resolution into effect, though at a fearful expense of life and property to the miserable inhabitants. He began by laying up vast quantities of provisions. Generals Dejean and Haxo, of the artillery, were sent by Napoleon to direct the lines of fortification; in the formation of these, he employed about a thousand men. At the same time, General Drouot commenced the erection of a bridge, uniting Hamburg and Haarburg, by joining the islands of the Elbe to the continent, — a distance of six miles. This bridge, constructed of wood taken by force from all the timber yards, was finished in eighty-three days. It presented a magnificent appearance, bestriding a water-way of 5058 yards exclusive of communications between the two islands. Many millions would not replace the timber thrown down to complete the fortifications, and to uncover the approaches of the town. But the defences were upon so extensive a scale, that sixty thousand men would have been required for their full occupation. The loss was indeed an incalculable loss to the inhabitants. From the immense stores heaped up in the place, the garrison was plentifully supplied, while provisions in the town were procured with much difficulty, in very small quantities, and at exorbitant prices. All horses, without exception, were seized for the artillery; the best were selected, the others slaughtered in the streets, and the flesh distributed to the soldiers. The inhabitants, pressed by famine, bought the hides at a dear rate. The garrison, composed of French, Italians, and Dutch, upon the evacuation of the place, in May, 1814, found it reduced to a moiety, being upwards of 15,000 men. The garrison, in demolition, in levelling the outer defences, was so

complete, the tombs and thrown down. living nor the spared; for, in executing their work of destruction, the soldiers might seen wrenching off the silver plates from the coffins, even breaking them up, in to get at the rich stuffs in which it there customary to wrap the deceased. rage for plunder were braved even the exhalations of putridity, which doubtless exaggerated, perhaps had occasioned, pestilence that broke a subsequent period of the siege. To of barbarity succeeded a blockade, formed by the troops of Russia and Sweden, and all external communication was cut off. The King of Denmark even, the ally of Napoleon, found himself constrained to abandon the garrison to its fate. To this he was forced by the Prince-Royal of Sweden, who, we have seen, joined, at an early period, the league of the north. In of the first sorties, General Vandamme and a considerable number of men were uselessly sacrificed. In the month of December, provisions began to the inhabitants, and useless mouths were turned out, under every aggravation of cruelty. On the 18th, one of proclamations of expulsion was issued, for departure in forty-eight hours, under pain of destruction of houses, — the commandant of the gendarmerie having it in charge to inflict on the recusants fifty strokes of the bastinado before expelling them. ways of dealing with Heaven, so with the gendarmerie. The bastinado was remitted for a sum of money, and, in the case of females, French gallantry substituted scourging! such is the tie that binds us to our natal soil, that still the wretched inhabitants clung to their hearths; and a new order, of the 25th, became necessary, which declared, that, out of compassion, twenty-four hours longer were which, all found the city, who could contribute the defence, considered in league with the and consequently

be delivered to the Provotal Court, shot. This was not enough: lingerers were found; and, on one of the nights of December, all who fell under the proscription, without distinction of age, sex, sickness or health, were thrown from their beds, and, during an intense frost, carried beyond the walls. By a refinement of cruelty, the escort was composed of citizens. In the course of the night, many aged persons perished. To misery the most deadly insults were added. I have seen—I have read—I do not invent, an order of the police, declaring female servants subject to domiciliary visits, unless they produce certificates of health from their masters! All those evils were increased to an incredible degree of desperation, by the avarice and barbarity of Davoust's favourite agents. One of these, a native of Auxerre, retained a valet, whose business it was to carry off by force, or inveigle by fraud, for his master, a daily victim from the honourable young females of the place. These facts so well known, that though, for the sake of my family, I do not mention the name of the commissary, when these pages, at this distant date, are read in Hamburg, every one will repeat his name. Meanwhile filth and putrescence accumulated every where: the streets were strewed with the carcasses of slaughtered horses: the Alster and the lake, poisoned by every species of uncleanness, which there was no longer means of transporting beyond the city, sent forth deadly exhalations: as the season advanced, epidemic and mortal complaints were converted into pestilence: from sixty to eighty died daily in the hospitals, of which no care was taken; and, on the bastions, on the ramparts, and in the highways, the dead were flung into trenches rather than buried; so that the living could not make a step without treading on the remains of their friends. All pecuniary resources being at length exhausted, the remains of the dead were seized, amounting to about eight millions of

marks (£600,000;) thus, while Hamburg, so rich and hospitable, was completely ruined, the shock extended to distant places. Napoleon accused Hamburg of Anglomania, and, in ruining it, thought he was ruining England. Through all these persecutions, that city had been an unresisting sacrifice. Like Jerusalem—whence, it is said, during the siege by Titus, the sound of lamentation was heard in the night—Hamburg could only bewail its secret.*

Such was the extent of the French interest in Germany, where they were expelled from a few isolated points, in which crime and useless resistance maintained a sinking cause. In Italy, Eugene commanded; the country having been confided to his care, after the campaign of 1812. To the preservation of Italy, Bonaparte attached great importance, both from the recollection of his early glory, and its present value. The actual possession of the rich provinces would be of great weight in a treaty of peace, which might call for their resignation; while they afforded a strong and convenient point whence to threaten Austria. The Viceroy did every thing in his power to second the intentions of the Emperor. But Eugene's army, in reality, differed greatly from its appearance on its muster-roll. That, indeed, bore the number of regiments, but, in many instances, the regiments themselves remained beneath the banners of Russia, or been buried in the plains of Poland. By dint of exertion, however, and the taking of many soldiers,

* It is dreadful to think of such enormities and sufferings during the space of their continuance; but it is, perhaps, even more fearful to contemplate their future consequences. While walking on one of the magnificent promenades which have replaced the astonishing mounds of Davout, I was informed, by a magistrate of Hamburg, of the opinion being generally entertained, that the crimes and calamities of the siege had wrought an injurious effect on the morals of the place, from which they had not yet recovered, nor would soon regain a healthy tone.—*Translator.*

he [redacted] a corps of fifty thousand men, of whom five [redacted] cavalry. After the failure of negotiations, in the shadow of a congress at Prague, [redacted] Viceroy, entertaining no doubt of an approaching [redacted] upon Italy, marched with his whole disposable force, and took up a position as near as possible to [redacted] Austrian frontier, his head-quarters being at Udine. Until April, 1814, he [redacted] enabled [redacted] preserve an imposing attitude, [redacted] to protect [redacted] the [redacted] kingdom with that skill which might have [redacted] expected from [redacted] trained in the school of Napoleon, [redacted] ranking among [redacted] best generals. Two defections, however, afflicted [redacted] excellent heart, and disconcerted [redacted] prudent arrangements, of Eugene; namely, those of Murat, his brother soldier, and of the King of Bavaria, his father-in-law. Thus exposed in rear to the Neapolitan army, and in flank [redacted] Bavarians, approaching through the Tyrol, he commenced a series of retrograde [redacted] in the [redacted] of 1813, falling back, first upon [redacted] Tagliamento, and subsequently upon the Adige. There, he took up a position, with troops considerably diminished by garrisons, sickness, [redacted] conflict.

Towards the end of November, Eugene understood that [redacted] corps of the [redacted] troops [redacted] seized Rome, another Ancona, and that the army [redacted] on its [redacted] for Upper Italy. [redacted] King of Naples wished [redacted] turn to his own advantage the situation of Europe, and became the dupe of offers promised as the reward [redacted] his [redacted] [redacted] here doubly a traitor; for, not only had [redacted] entered into a treaty with the enemies of France, but, as nothing certain was yet known respecting [redacted] desertion, [redacted] flying reports [redacted] discredited [redacted] impossible, [redacted] continued [redacted] profess amity to the Emperor, and to receive provisions and [redacted] from Eugene. Such, too, was the confidence at Paris, that the [redacted] minister never once thought [redacted] refusing those demands; yet, at that very moment, [redacted] King of Naples was engaged to join the Austrian troops,

and to make common cause against the French arms in Italy. Here Murat became perfidious and inexcusable. To disown his native for his adopted country, when the interests of the latter demanded it, was a measure standing on its own merits, and liable to be judged differently, men's opinions and feelings differ; but to join perfidiously to desertion, can admit only one sentiment,—that it was once unmanly and criminal. When first apprised of this treachery, Napoleon refused to give credit to the fact: "No," exclaimed he, to those around him,—“No! that cannot be! Murat, to whom I gave my sister! Murat, to whom I have given a crown! Eugene must be deceived. It is not possible that he should declare against me!” It was, however, not only possible, but true. At that very moment, Miollis, with a handful of men, was blockaded in the castle of St Angelo, were also the garrisons of Ancona and Loretto, in their respective citadels. The treaty between Austria and Naples was definitively signed on the 11th of January, 1814. Soon after, Eugene, mistrusting Murat's conduct, retired behind the Mincio, and cantoned his army. Here, on the 1st of February, the Austrian army came up with his position: he engaged and defeated the Austrians, and thus, for some time, prevented their invasion, and junction with Neapolitan forces. Not eight days after this conflict, did Murat officially declare war against the Emperor, by sending in a declaration, by his chief of staff, to General Vignolles, who held the same situation in the army of Prince Eugene. Immediately, the French officers in Neapolitan service deserted the king, and went to Eugene. He exerted every effort to retain them, but in vain. “No Frenchman,” said they, “who really loves his country, can now remain in your service.”—“Do you suppose, then,” cried he, “that my heart is less French than yours? Believe, on the contrary, that I am much to be pitied: from the grand army, I hear only

of disastrous events. I have been forced to make a treaty with [] an arrangement [] the English under Lord Bentinck, in order to save my kingdom from a threatened invasion, by the English and Sicilians. Such a disembarkation would infallibly [] excited a revolt in the interior: remain then with me."

Immediately on receipt of Joachim's declaration, Eugene issued a proclamation to his troops:—" [] diers," [] the prince, "my motto is, Honour and Fidelity; let the same be your device: with this in our hearts, and God for our aid, we shall yet triumph over all our enemies." In the same proclamation, he expressed [] hopes of a solid and lasting peace; these were not realized: another portion of it, in which he promulgated the imperial decree for the recall of all French officers [] the Neapolitan service, [] become useless, from the voluntary retirement of [] whom [] regulation concerned; and unfortunately he possessed [] the [] of fulfilling [] promises of victory. The Austro-Neapolitan army obtained advantages which could not be disputed; Leghorn and Ancona [] taken, and the French obliged to evacuate Tuscany.

I return to affairs in France at the end of 1818. These presented a spectacle no less afflicting than in Italy. The imperial diadem, like the iron crown, [] [] head of Napoleon. [] treachery of Murat [] proved doubly fatal, in its [] and in its effects, [] the mighty combinations in which he [] been destined to act an important part. In the gigantic scheme of defence and [] which [] meditated, Bonaparte's intention [] been that Eugene and Murat, uniting their forces, should march upon Vienna, through [] Tyrol and Carinthia, and thus get to the rear of the allies, and shake Austria to [] centre. Meanwhile, [] himself, with the soldiers, [] on [] soil, of France, would have multiplied obstacles in the enemy's front, and might have []

their timid million, measuring every step, polluted with their presence. On hearing of this project, I could not recognise that daring spirit which I had known meeting great dangers by great. The impress of genius there, but rendered powerless in the of execution. In the campaign of Paris, Napoleon all himself; again he unfolded that fervid mind, which, in youthful conquests, annihilated space, seemed omnipresent in his energies. But the chances of success were no longer the same; victory even, if dearly purchased, must become to him. France, now hopes sprung up in the room of those that had been deceived, and which had heralded him to consular power. Now must he have felt, in simple honesty, the counsel of Josephine,—“Bonaparte, do not, I beseech thee, make thyself king.”

Napoleon Emperor, but the who imposed all Europe of peace not disastrous than war itself, could not now obtain an armistice. His ambassador, Caulaincourt, commissioned to treat of one, passed twenty days in idleness, at Lunéville, without being received allied camp, or permitted to pass advanced guards of the army of. In vain Caulaincourt entreated—supplanted Napoleon to sacrifice, rather provisionally to lay aside, a portion of glory acquired in so combats. No could be obtained: he wrote, however, to his minister,—“I shall sign whatever you will. To obtain peace, I ask condition. I will not dictate my own humiliation.” was equivalent a prohibition to sign or to concede any thing. In the course of the first fifteen days of 1814, one-third of France invaded, a new proposed at Châtillon upon the Seine. Of the proceedings I shall speak hereafter; meanwhile, let us consider the last moments Napoleon's stay at Paris, before setting for

that adventurous campaign of France, wherein he displayed military talent superior even to the reverses he experienced, and where he was balanced by the fortunate daring of his vast combinations.

Affairs were approaching daily to a crisis. Strongly pressed by the allies, he was counselled to seek extraordinary resources in the interior of the empire. He was reminded of the fourteen armies which, as if by enchantment, sprung forth from the soil of France, to meet her, at the commencement of the Revolution. In short, he was advised to throw himself into the arms of a party who still possessed the power of raising the mass—to join himself to the Jacobins. What a trial for him who had so often manifested the justifiable loathing which these inspired! Nevertheless, for a moment, he cherished the idea of adopting this advice. He made the round, on horseback, of the suburbs of St Antoine and St Marceau; he addressed the populace; replied to their acclamations with attentive eagerness; and believed he beheld in these dispositions something which might be turned to advantage. On returning to the palace, prudent people took upon them to make remarks, recommending him to have recourse rather to the upper classes—the nobility and select of the nation. Perceiving thus several blamed his ridiculous popularity, he replied,—“Gentlemen, you may talk as you please, but, in my present situation, I find no nobility in the Faubourgs, nor any noble save in the nobility I have made.” A happy device this to please every body; since, according to Napoleon, all were equal together.

At this epoch, the Jacobins were disposed to serve, and to strain every nerve to save him. But they required that he should leave them alone to act freely, to arouse every revolutionary passion, to abandon the press to their management, and to have sung in the theatres their favourite

airs,—with other propositions, no extravagant, and not revolting. I do not in this repeat hear- but what I witnessed and heard at two meetings at which present, though certainly by chance, when these proposals brought forward with the assurance, that appeared certain. Though years passed the of my familiar intercourse with Napoleon, I knew his opinions regarding the Jacobins well to be under any apprehension as to the result here. In fact, disgusted by their demands, and the price which they put upon their services, he broke off the correspondence. "It is much," he said, "I shall in chance of safety, but with these harebrained fools." adding afterwards,—“There exist connection between the demagogues of 1793 and monarchy; between furious clubs and a regular ministry; between a Committee of Public Safety and an Emperor, between revolutionary tribunals the reign of the laws. No! if I must fall, I will not bequeath France Revolution from which I saved her.”

Golden words these! and Napoleon followed up resolution worthy of himself, by calling forth a truly national and noble instrument to parry the threatening danger. This was the National Guard of Paris, which he placed under the command of Moncey, estimable in every respect, who loyally fought under the standard of France, now, advanced, preserved the freshness, mental and bodily, of youth.* The Emperor could

* Moncey Ben-Adria Jedunoff, marshal of the empire, Duke of Cornegliano, born at Beaupres, July, 1764. His father was an advocate, and the young soldier was himself intended for a similar career, but, so powerful were the attractions presented by the profession in which he afterwards attained so honourable a station, that thence he deserted the paternal roof to enlist as a private sentinel. The first time his discharge was purchased by his family, a second time he selected his own

not have made a worthier choice; but the staff of the National Guard became a focus for every species of intrigue, save that which tended to the defence of Paris; when the moment came, without seeming it, the overthrow of Napoleon, the overthrow uppermost in their minds. However that may be, as captain of the guard, I was convoked, with my brother officers, to the Emperor in the Tuileries on the 28d of January, when I received Napoleon's farewell, previous to his setting out on the morrow, for the first time, to fight for the hearth, with the foe in the land. What a day for me! how many recollections assailed my memory! We were introduced into the grand saloon, which I had so often traversed as a familiar of the house. Better to view the ceremony, I mounted, along with others, upon a bench placed against the wall. Napoleon entered with the Empress; he advanced with a noble air, leading by the hand his son, yet three years old. For a long time I had been acquainted with him with whom I lived so intimately, and for so many years. He had become very corpulent; and, upon his extremely pale countenance, an air of sadness and displeasure. The ordinary wrinkles of his muscles of his neck stronger and more frequent than I formerly remarked.—No, I cannot describe what I felt stirring within me, beholding my friend of my youth, so long

in exile, but the third time he persevered; and, as his reward, found himself, at the age of forty-six, a colonel of dragons! The Revolution opened rapid promotion, for, in 1793, he was general of division. In Italy, under the consulate, he distinguished himself in the passage of St Bernard; at Marengo, and in other lesser conflicts. In 1804, he became one of the fifteen marshals of the empire; and, subsequently, in Spain, sustained the reputation of a powerful, if not talented, commander. The text informs us of the rest. In 1823, he again commanded, in the Spanish invasion, under the Duke d'Angoulême,—if with little honour, it was not his fault—the expedition was disgraceful.—*Translator.*

of Europe, on the point of sinking beneath the of his enemies. The ceremony had something grave solemn, and, at the same time, mournful. Rarely so profound reign in so assembly. There prevailed throughout some indes- vague uneasiness—an eager listening for the voice of Napoleon. Nor voice long unheard. strong and sonorous tones, when harangued soldiera in Italy Egypt, but without the expression of self-confidence, and with others, which then from countenance, Napoleon us:—

"Gentlemen, officers of the National Guard, I have pleasure in beholding you assembled around I depart this night, place myself at the head of the army. On quitting the capital, I leave behind, with confidence, my wife my son, upon whom many hopes repose. I this acknowledgment of security those by which you have never failed to manifest your attachment, in the principal of my life. I shall depart, with a mind freed from a weight of inquietude, when I know these pledges to be under your faithful guardianship: to you I confide all I hold most dear in the world, France, and recommend them to your

"may sometimes happen, from the of the manœuvres which I now to execute, that enemy may find an opportunity to approach your walls. If such an event should occur, bear in mind that it can be the affair only of a few days, and that I shall speedily arrive to your assistance. I recommend to you be united among yourselves, to resist every insinuation tending to introduce disunion. Endeavours will not be wanting to shake your fidelity to your duties; but I depend on your repelling all these perfidious instigations."

I listened Bonaparte's words with deepest
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attention ; and, though he pronounced them with a strong voice, it was not unmoved—he felt, or feigned, emotion. But that emotion, whether real or assumed, was shared by a vast number of those present ; and I confess, for my part, that I was greatly affected especially when he said those words, “ I love you my wife and my son.” I cast my eyes upon the child ; the interest he inspired was altogether distinct from that excited by the grandeur which surrounded, and the misfortunes which threatened, him. I beheld in the boy, whose countenance, moreover, displayed much innocent loveliness, the King of Rome, but the son of my earliest friend. During the whole day, I could not get free from a feeling of sadness, on comparing what I saw that morning witnessed, with our first occupation of the Tuileries. How many years in the fourteen years that separated these events !

CHAPTER V.

MEETING AT CHATILLON—BONAPARTE'S DEPARTURE
 FROM PARIS—THE CONGRESS—DUPPLICITY OF NAPOLEON—CAULAIN-
 COURT'S DEFEAT—THE PACIFICATION—THE
 DEFEAT OF THE ALLIES—SINGULAR
 DEFEAT OF ALEXANDER—CAMPAIGN OF PARIS—BATTLE
 OF BRISNVE—VISIT TO THE FIELD—BATTLE
 OF WATERLOO—ANECDOTE—THE
 DEFEAT—KING OF SPAIN—ALLIES
 OF PARIS—BATTLE OF FERE CHAMPENOISE—ANEC-
 DOTE.

It will be deemed a circumstance worthy of remark, by those who take an interest in comparing dates, to find, that Napoleon, the successor of Louis XVI, and nephew of that monarch, by marriage with Louise, should have taken his farewell of the National Guard, precisely on the anniversary of the famous 21st January, after twenty-five years of terror and disgrace—of hope, of glory and reverse. On the morrow, he set out to join the army; but, alas! his journey was not so long as it used to be, before reaching head-quarters. Eastern France was already occupied by five hundred thousand men, and Napoleon had wherewith to oppose this host only, at most, one hundred thousand; but his genius, far from failing him, seemed to renovate his youthful vigour in this terrible conjuncture.

Meantime, the congress at Chatillon-sur-Seine was opened, where were present, the Duke of Vicenza, representative of France; the Marquis of Aberdeen, Cathcart,

and Stewart, Count Razoumowaky, on the part of Russia; Count Stadion, on that of Austria; and Count de Humboldt, from Prussia. As I received perfect intelligence whatever transacted in this assembly, I believe the present portion of my *Memoirs* will deeply interest every one who seeks for the truth on the negotiations of this period. In terms of his instructions, the Duke de V. demanded an armistice on the opening of the congress, according to the usual practice when negotiating treaties of peace. This Napoleon both desired and greatly wanted, to repair former losses, and to prevent the fresh disasters of immediate warfare. But, instructed by past experience, the allies resolved to continue military operations, and answered the proposal of an armistice by requiring the immediate signature of the propositions of pacification. These, however, no longer the proposals of Frankfort. The allies now established, as the limits of the treaty, the limits of the ancient monarchy. They regarded their success as sufficient to authorize this; and who, in their situation, would not have acted in

To judge accurately of Napoleon's conduct, in reference to these pacific negotiations at Châtillon, we must take especially into account the organization which he had received from nature, and understand the ideas which that organization had superinduced upon his mind during his youthful years. If we examine with attention his impartiality and conduct throughout, we shall be convinced that he owed only to himself. No agents at this time fostered his selfish ambition, his overmastering love of glory, his profound duplicity; though, in other respects there might have been some confidence who failed to convince him, often his designs incompatible with the interests of France. Upon every occasion, he was the victim of his own views, and he acted alone. He

said, " Helena, in speaking of conferences of Châtillon,—“ A alone have saved to treat, to conclude, give to the enemy.” Napoleon in words. He deeply read in history of great of antiquity; what had chiefly sought to discover his studies was by which these become great. He not failed to remark, that a military bears much farther of possessor, the successful of peace, extensive knowledge, the noblest effort contribute happiness of mankind. How often has he me, while launching forth into some of the historical disquisitions in which he loved to indulge,—“ Who, this day, knows the of that populace of kings who have passed from thrones upon which chance or birth had placed them? They lived in obscurity. Painfully are their names sought in archives; or a medal—a coin, found among rubbish, barely reveals to the learned the existence of a king, of whom they had heard. On the contrary, speak of Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar, Mahomet, Charlemagne, Henry IV, or Louis XIV, instantly among acquaintance.” From he had drawn, as it were, an historical corollary,—never sign a disadvantageous peace. How then conclude a shameful peace, which only stripped France of what Napoleon had added to her dominion, of that which she had confided to his genius, his great military talents, and to his fortune? tained an intimate conviction, which for a moment had I seen laid aside, that, were once the illusion produced by his triumphs to be destroyed, charm and the enthusiasm many prodigies had awakened in a brave generous people, would disappear with its cause. “ France,” he would often say, “ received me as her chief, from the arms of victory: conquest forsake me, France will return

“the descendants of Henry IV.” Many were the illusions, in every period of his career, with which Bonaparte imposed upon others, as to his position, but never, in any instances, did he impose upon himself. Deprived of its military foundation, his greatness necessarily fell; and of this he was fully

To occupy the station in the history to which he aspired, a tarnished During the long space passed in his intimacy, when his glory stood beyond dispute, did I feel fatigued, disgusted with the labours of civil administration. What, then, have been his aversion to engage in arrangements for the humiliation of his beautiful France? Once, when Caulaincourt pressed him to make sacrifices, he exclaimed, “Courage may defend a —infamy, never!”

Such were the dispositions with which Napoleon set out for the army. Soon after his arrival, the conferences at Châtillon commenced. The Duke of Vicoenza, convinced he no longer count upon the natural limits of France granted by the Declaration of Frankfort, as the basis of negotiation, wrote for the powers. The Congress opened on the 5th of February; on the 6th, there was no sitting; but, on the 7th, the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers declared themselves categorically. They drew up a protocol, that, in consequence of the which attended their arms, France should be within her ancient limits, such as these under her monarchy, before the Revolution; France should renounce all influence beyond her frontiers; and that, consequently, all titles implying protection in Italy, Germany, Switzerland, instantly to the proposition, so different from one sent to Frankfort to the envoy, M. de St Aignan, appeared so extraordinary to M. Caulaincourt, that he obliged him to request a suspension of proceedings, the conditions being a

nature which not [redacted] him to proceed immediately. The plenipotentiaries [redacted] wished, and adjourned the meeting till eight o'clock the [redacted] evening. In this night sitting, the Duke of Vicenza [redacted] his willingness to make the greatest sacrifices for peace, however remote the propositions of the allies, as explained that morning, had been from the terms offered [redacted] Frankfort; but requiring a definite statement of those sacrifices, and of the compensation [redacted] given in return. [redacted] was, indeed, fulfilling his recent instructions to prolong the discussions, and [redacted] gain time; but the duke has been unjustly accused of opposing the peace, and throwing unimportant and [redacted] trifling obstacles in the way. Such [redacted] the private instructions of the Emperor.

On the following day, some [redacted] obtained by the allies, and their capture of Troyes and Chalons, determined Napoleon to empower his plenipotentiary to state, "That he was ready [redacted] to the ancient limits of France, provided the [redacted] powers immediately consented [redacted] an armistice." [redacted] would have exactly suited Napoleon; time would have been gained. The East and the North would have risen; reinforcements could have arrived from the south of France; and [redacted] should have been [redacted] to bring up [redacted] troops from Spain and the German fortresses: besides, fortunate chances might present themselves, and, [redacted] certainty, intrigues might be [redacted] foot. [redacted] the 9th of February, this unexpected proposal [redacted] laid before [redacted] Congress by Caulaincourt; and M. de Razoumowsky, convinced that England would accede, her object in the surrender of Antwerp, and [redacted] evacuation of Belgium, being thus attained, demanded, in the name of the Emperor Alexander, a suspension of the discussions. [redacted] the allies rejected this subterfuge of Napoleon; and they did right. He had given his ambassador to understand, that the first word of the allies was not to be taken [redacted] ultimatum; [redacted] he [redacted] reply by assuming

the propositions of Frankfort, and demanding an armistice; but that their answer even to this was not to be an ultimatum. "There are many other concessions," said [redacted] in his letter; "but, [redacted] [redacted] satisfied, you may close; if not, [redacted] will [redacted] [redacted] for discussion." [redacted] [redacted] letter, [redacted] [redacted] following [redacted] expression, [redacted] describes [redacted] whole intention of [redacted] Emperor,—
 "You may go, verbally, as far as you judge convenient; and, when you shall have obtained a positive ultimatum, refer to your government, [redacted] final instructions concerning it." Is this clear?

In the sitting of the 10th of March, the [redacted] of Vienna inserted in the protocol, that the [redacted] courier despatched to him had been stopped [redacted] detained for a long time by several general officers in the Russian army, who had forced from him his papers, which had not been delivered to [redacted] duke till thirty-six hours afterwards, [redacted] Chamont. Canlaincourt justly [redacted] complained of this infraction of the rights of nations, [redacted] of established usages, as the only [redacted] of delay in concluding the negotiations. He then [redacted] before Congress the instructions of [redacted] master, in which the Emperor acceded [redacted] the conditions of the [redacted] [redacted] Frankfort, from which they [redacted] receded without comprehensible motives. He, however, [redacted] [redacted] not [redacted] communicate [redacted] secret orders,—to insist—to [redacted] all, [redacted] order to obtain nothing. [redacted] then inserted a long note in [redacted] protocol, setting [redacted] all the [redacted] places about the balance of power, [redacted] partition of Poland, the inferiority to which [redacted] would [redacted] reduced, compared with Austria or Russia, by accepting the new basis proposed by the allies, namely, her ancient [redacted] before the Revolution; and maintained, with truth, that, without France, [redacted] balance of power [redacted] not be preserved. [redacted] continued [redacted] state, in support of these views, [redacted] Belgium, [redacted] the right [redacted] of the Rhine, having [redacted] constitutionally [redacted] to France, and recognized

by existing treaties, Napoleon neither could, nor would, consent to their dismemberment. These propositions of Napoleon, the allies replied, that they contained nothing explicit or definite, as respected the preliminaries presented by them on the 17th February, which they have been answered on the 28th, after the term of ten days upon by Caulaincourt they, therefore, proposed breaking up the Congress. To prevent this, the duke replied verbally, "1. That Napoleon was ready to renounce all influence beyond the limits of France. 2. To acknowledge the independence of Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, and to make such concessions to England as should be judged necessary, and for a reasonable equivalent."

Upon this declaration, the sitting immediately broke up without reply. Nor was this to be wondered at. What did Bonaparte comprehend under the limits of France? Those, unquestionably, which he had been offered, but refused, at Frankfort, which the allies now retrenched to the limits of the monarchy. And what was the "reasonable equivalent expected from England?" Is it surprising that this obscurity and vagueness inspired no confidence? In fact, three days after this sitting of the 10th of March, the allies declared, that they could not enter upon the discussion of the verbal protocol of the French minister, and demanded from him, within twenty-four hours, an explicit declaration for or against the treaty proposed by them, that the limits of France should be the limits of the monarchy, before the Revolution, or to propose a counter project. Always guided by his secret instructions, the Duke of Vicenza inserted in the protocol an ambiguous reply, at the same meeting of the 13th March. The allies answered by repeating their demand. The former requested a suspension of the meeting till eight the next evening, which, the allies granted. The meeting having resumed, M. Caulaincourt, much

to the surprise of all, said he would give in a counter project, but could not do so before the evening of the 14th, or morning of the 15th March. The allies were pressed, but, from personal consideration to the French envoy, said they would adjourn to the morning of the 15th. On that occasion, to the astonishment of all, in the project, so long delayed, the duke said nothing of his verbal protocol. The Emperor was to retain the Rhine, Holland, Italy, supremacy over Switzerland, to recognize the independence of Spain; but the crown of the kingdom of Italy was to be guaranteed to Prince Eugene Napoleon. The Princess Elisa was also to retain the sovereignty of Lucca and Piombino, and the Prince of Neuchâtel his principality; the Grand Duke of Berg (son of Louis) was also to retain possession of his duchy; the King of Saxony to be reinstated in his kingdom; and the Ionian Isles were to belong to the kingdom of Italy. The greater part of these conditions were received with derision by the allies. It became evident that Napoleon had intended to treat seriously of peace at Châtillon.

This singular programme of the 15th, Caulaincourt had demanded should be ratified in five days, or sooner if possible. But the allies were clearly of the object was only to involve them in a tedious discussion; and, fearing lest they should still become victims of the crafty policy of Napoleon, inserted in the protocol, during the sitting of the 18th, their reasons for rejecting altogether the propositions of the French minister. For my part, I was convinced that Napoleon had no intention to conclude peace upon any principle of concession, that, on the 18th, the Duke of Vicenza had written to Talleyrand that his signature of the treaty would unquestionably soon take place, I affirmed it would not. On the morning of the 14th, having visited Talleyrand, I expressed the same opinion; upon which he put into my hand Caulaincourt's letter, stating that "Napoleon

given ■■■ a ■■■ capital, ■■■ avoid a battle, by which would ■■■ compromised the ■■■ of the nation." This ■■■ was very positive; but the ■■■ my opinion for a moment. Having ■■■ letter, I returned it, with the remark, "He will ■■■ sign." ■■■ de Talleyrand could not help saying ■■■ he thought ■■■ obstinate ■■■ my belief; but ■■■ judged of ■■■ Emperor from his present position, while I ■■■ my opinion from Bonaparte's character. Napoleon, I ■■■ convinced, would sacrifice all, rather than his glory, and valued less his crown than the preservation of its lustre.

In fact, on the 19th, the plenipotentiaries ■■■ the allies, perceiving that all these diplomatic stratagems had evidently no other object than to gain time; and likewise struck with the inconsistency of Napoleon's refusing, for a definitive peace, what he had proposed to grant for a simple armistice, declared the negotiations with the French government ■■■ terminated. The allied powers added, through their representatives, that, faithful to the principles they had announced, they would never lay down arms, until these principles had been recognized and admitted by the French government. The issue of these grand debates ■■■ thus referred ■■■ the chances of war—chances but little favourable ■■■ the ■■■ whose genius then strove against Europe in arms. The successes of the allies, during the negotiations, had opened the road to Paris; while Napoleon, ■■■ hoping that fortune would yet return to bless ■■■ standard, supplied ■■■ want of numbers, against these ■■■ by ■■■ ■■■ which, perhaps, his genius ■■■ imagined. An excessive love of ■■■ proved ■■■ ruin; he shrunk from the necessity of signing what he conceived to ■■■ his own shame; ■■■ he had his desire: he could say, "All is lost, ■■■ glory." ■■■ glory will be immortal.

But, before entering upon my usual slight details

of battles, of the operations in Spain, I had a singular conversation between Alexander and one of our generals, who faithfully reported to me the light upon the views of the allies, relative to the government of France, before the fall of the empire. I have always been convinced—a conviction strengthened by all their subsequent acts—that, in entering France, they had no intention of re-establishing the Bourbons, or of imposing upon the French any government whatsoever. They entered to destroy, and found what they wished to destroy, in the success of their success, was the supremacy of Napoleon. In the early period of that bloody struggle, they had not even thought of any one to govern in France: it mattered them who was chief of that government, provided it was not Napoleon, or any member of his family. This opinion I entertained, in concert with many of the best informed in England, whom I had more than once occasion to correspond.

These principles were so decidedly those of the allies in 1814, that they were manifested still more solemnly at a later period, when the Bourbons had already reigned more than a year in France. The treaty of Vienna, concluded on the 25th March, 1815, bore, that "The powers have no other object than to deprive from Bonaparte the possibility of renewing attempts to restore the sovereign power in France." One month, day for day, following the signature of the treaty of Vienna,—and certainly circumstances were very different from 1814,—the Prince Regent of England declared to the British Parliament, that there was no intention to impose upon France any government in particular.

General Regnier had been taken prisoner at the battle of Leipzig, and was exchanged in the beginning of February, 1814. On passing through Troyes, the general, wishing to pay his respects to the Emperor

Alexander, ■■■ received by that monarch with ■■■ customary condescension. On arriving in Paris, ■■■ general came to the Duke de Rovigo's, with whom I happened to be dining that day, and in my presence related ■■■ conversation I ■■■ report. "Having inquired of Alexander," ■■■ the general, "whether he had any message for Napoleon, who, knowing I had seen his majesty, would not fail to put many questions; the emperor replied, that he ■■■ nothing particular to say to him. He added, 'I am Napoleon's friend, but personally have much ■■■ complain of; ■■■ allies, too, wish ■■■ have nothing ■■■ to ■■■ with him; ■■■ to other matters, ■■■ have ■■■ intention ■■■ impose any person upon France; only, the ■■■ are determined no longer ■■■ recognize Napoleon ■■■ Emperor of the French. As for myself,' ■■■ Alexander, 'I can no longer have any confidence in him—he has deceived me too often.' Regnier made such observations as his attachment ■■■ Napoleon dictated, and asked,—“But, if the resolution be persisted in, to ■■■ him from power, who ■■■ to be appointed in his ■■■?”—“Does it not belong ■■■ you,” answered Alexander, “to appoint a successor? why not ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ the French nation? All depends upon yourselves. We have no desire, I repeat, ■■■ impose any ■■■ upon you; ■■■ ■■■ will not have him.” Subsequently, there ensued a discussion ■■■ the claims of several generals, to all of ■■■ Regnier opposed well grounded ■■■ “Well, then, general,” said Alexander, “have you ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ voluntarily elected Prince-Royal ■■■ Sweden, might ■■■ not be chosen in like manner by the French also? He is your countryman; to the ■■■ he was a stranger.” Regnier, whose character ■■■ firm and ■■■ posed, presented many ■■■ in opposition, which I do not now remember, ■■■ which ■■■ time appeared to me well founded. Alexander, upon this, with marked displeasure, put an end to the conversation, by saying, “The fate of arms will

then decide it?"* I was by [redacted] surprised by [redacted] [redacted] of Alexander, during this interview, being well aware that [redacted] [redacted] firmly resolved [redacted] to suffer Napoleon to [redacted] master of France. As [redacted] latter part of [redacted] [redacted] about Bernadotte, it tallied with what I have already stated of the interview at Abo on the 28th August, [redacted] [redacted] the moment approaches when I shall have [redacted] revert to the subject.

The campaign in which the important question was to be decided, Whether Napoleon should continue master of France? required from him a system of [redacted] different from all [redacted] warlike operations in which he had yet been engaged. [redacted] was now reduced to the defensive; and, instead of acting upon a plan established previously, his dispositions [redacted] constantly to be modified and rendered subordinate to the movements of an overwhelming superiority of numbers. He had quitted Paris on the 25th January, [redacted] which date Alexander, Francis, [redacted] King of Prussia, were assembled at Langres. Napoleon rejoined his guard at Vitry, and, two days after quitting his capital, put [redacted] rout the Prussian army then advancing by the Lorraine road; chasing it from St Dizier. Two days after, took place the [redacted] of Brienne, in which, with fifteen thousand men, he kept [redacted] check for twelve hours eighty thousand Russians. This battle [redacted] brought on through a movement made by the Emperor on his right, in order to interpose between Paris and the grand Austro-Russian army, which had passed the [redacted] and Yonne [redacted] Montereau, and pushed forward an advance upon Fontenbleau. What recollections [redacted] [redacted] thoughts must have agitated [redacted] mind, on

* General Rezaier served with distinction in Egypt, and in all the European campaigns, especially in that of Saxony. He was an excellent officer, and much attached to his imperial master. He died soon after the above conversation, while on the way to rejoin Napoleon in Champagne. — Translator.

revisiting, as Emperor and King, and with an army lately so powerful, those [] which, thirty-four years before, [] witnessed the mimic combats of [] boyhood! Then [] there [] [] [] to me, "I will do these Frenchmen of thine all the mischief in my power." [] desire, indeed, had been changed; [] destiny [] registered [] fulfilment; for [] [] [] brought into the bosom of [] beau- [] France the legions of armed Europe.

Napoleon [] in the [] of Elba, when I yielded to a strong desire of visiting the battle [] of Brienne. The impressions of the scene [] inseparable from the [] which gave them rise. I [] here in [] [] of blackened traces of a murderous conflict, [] the very spot where I [] so often been the sole [] [] of the boy whose wayward destinies had thus led him, like a hunted beast, to the lair whence he had started. Where, now, were the [] [] [] panions of the same season, [] the [] scene?—how various their fortunes! Our college [] now to be distinguished only in [] site; the magnificent chateau of the Count de Brienne, to whom Bonaparte had so often paid his respects, bore traces of war and devastation. The death of the excellent proprietor upon a [] [] contributed not a [] to inspire Napoleon with that horror of the Jacobins which remained with him, undissembled and unmitigated, through life. In following a devious [] which, like my recollections, was guided by no plan, I found myself in the dark and silent avenue which conducted to the hermitage. Time, aided by revolutionary [] and the powder of the Cossacks, [] [] left scarcely a vestige of the [] [] paintings, representing the temptation of St Anthony, which had formed the delight of our youthful enthusiasm. Every where appeared simultaneously to my imagination, [] boy Bonaparte, and [] unhappy Napoleon. I wandered along [] [] of that rapid stream, in whose waters I [] so often bathed beside him who

had since filled the earth with his name. I found again the place where we were wont to plunge from the [] the [] cool wave, and could still recognize the willow he had planted over the spot where one of our companions had perished. Why the one rather than the other? thought I. Had fate chosen for her victim the young Corsican, what a [] the destinies of France—of [] world! On entering the village, I felt as if awakened from a dream of sweet and bitter fancies. With the charm of early remembrances mingled an inexpressible revolution of feeling, when I thought of the fall of the man, who, unjustly prejudiced against me, had, by [] proceedings, forced me to regard him no longer as a friend. Amid the ruins of the college of Brienne, friendship had resumed all its first unimpaired tenderness.

In two days after the engagement which [] forth these reflections,—namely, on the 1st of February,—from seventy [] eighty thousand men of the French and [] armies drew [] against each other. There [] of both incurred the greatest personal hazard; for Napoleon had a horse killed under him, and, at Blücher's side, a Cossack [] struck down by a shot. The operations of the Emperor's active warfare carried him, a few days after this great battle, [] Troyes. There he remained but a brief space, and advanced towards Champ-Aubert, where ensued the [] which has immortalized that village. [] Russians were beaten, and General Alsenieff, with two thousand men and thirty pieces of cannon, captured. This battle was fought on the 10th of February; [] really there would [] no exaggeration in saying, that, at this period, [] French army [] [] battle every day, and frequently on several points at one and the same time. Thus, on the 11th, the Prince of Wirtemberg entered Sens, my native city, after a [] obstinate resistance; while General Bourmont vigorously repulsed [] before Nogent; []

at Montmerail, the Emperor declared the united
of Generals Yorck and Sacken.

After [] of Champ-Aubert, the Emperor
[] elated by the [] that, [] with
Berthier, Marmont, and Alsenieff, he said,—“ Con-
[] gentlemen! another such victory, [] I am
upon the Vistula.” Observing that no [] replied,
and thinking [] read in the expression of the Mar-
shals that they partook not in these hopes, [] added,
—“ I see clearly, gentlemen, that you are all tired of
war; there is no longer any enthusiasm; the sacred
[] extinct within you.” Then, rising []
table, [] going up [] General Drouot, with []
intention, by a marked compliment, [] a []
upon the Marshals,—“ [] it not true, general,” asked
he, clapping him [] the shoulder, “ there wants []
success only a hundred men such as you?” Drouot
replied, with as much spirit as appropriate modesty,
—“ Say [] hundred thousand, sire!” This trait of
Napoleon, which [] completely paints the man, I had,
a short [] afterwards, [] the two principal wit-
nesses of this moment of aberration.

Success, indeed, had returned, but only for a mo-
ment; for how could it be otherwise? The loss of
twenty men was to us as great as of [] hundred
[] allies. Our recruits could be raised with
difficulty, while the [] reinforcements, stationed
along the whole route, from [] of Germany
to the heart of France, arrived []ly, and [] only
covered [] losses inflicted by French valour, guided
by [] gen[] [] Bonaparte, but unceasingly []
the hostile ranks. The whole of February was a
series of combats—a succession of reverses and defeats
nearly balanced. The activity, the energies, and []
resources of the French chief, seemed inexhaustible.
On the 10th, Marshal Blücher forced a corps of the
army to retreat, and on the morrow, was himself beaten
[] Vauchamp, by [] [] Ragusa. The []
[] 18th were favourable days; on the former, the

corps ■ Wittgenstein was completely defeated at Villeneuve, ■ great loss in men and materiel, and that of General Wrede at Nangis; and, on the latter, the Prince of Wirtemberg was obliged to evacuate Montereau, ■ a severe conflict. ■ presented an afflicting spectacle thus to behold troops and ■ engaged against each other, who, only two years before, had fought under ■ same ■ But Bonaparte would have it ■ by rendering ■ an insupportable burden, and by constantly refusing ■ bend his ambition beneath the yoke of necessity.

Thus, wholly absorbed in war, Napoleon had little ■ spare ■ the ■ of the interior. ■ already other subjects of disquietude ■ occurred, in the arrival, ■ St Jean de Luz, of the Duke d'Angoulême, nephew of Louis XVIII, in whose ■ he issued a proclamation to ■ French soldiers; while, on the ■ of the ■ month, the Count d'Artois made his entry into Vesoul. In the ■ time, hostilities continued on a ■ line of operation, with an always increasing ■ animosity. ■ did our soldiers ■ themselves with glory in so many combats! Spite of their prodigies of valour, the ■ thickened and bore down towards a centre. Thus is ■ eagle finally strangled by the very crowd of ■ ■ though every stroke of his beak ■ a dead ■ circling downwards through space. Gradually the ■ approached ■ Paris. Intelligence ■ the army, so eagerly expected, daily arrived earlier. ■ the ■ of the Invalids thundered forth ■ acclamations of victory, ■ distant roll ■ hostile artillery might be heard in the capital of France: so hurried ■ changes of this war of extermination.

A little before the end of February, the allies were in full retreat, in different parts. Marmont had repulsed the attacks of Blücher; while Napoleon, occupied in pursuing ■ Austrians, had, by a ■ manœuvre, succeeded ■ dividing his forces, ■ throwing forward a part of them to oppose ■ army

of Silesia, which menaced his rear. At the same time, Victor, Oudinot, Macdonald, advanced upon the route of Aube and Seine. The result of the allies was not a fight. Having experienced a reverse, they retired beyond Aube, and waited for reinforcements, which soon enabled them to resume the offensive. Many were who, from these successes, looked for peace; they hoped the Emperor of Austria might be detached from the coalition, and would consent his daughter should be driven from the throne of France. They were, however, undeceived, by the declaration of England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, signing, at Chaumont, on the first of March, a league for twenty years, should that time be necessary, for peace, by which France should guarantee the independence and tranquillity of Europe. Twenty years!—thirty days sufficed.

Into thirty days were crowded many events, and a volume would be required to describe the history. Troyes, from which they had been lately driven, was recovered by the allies. And, during these transactions, the Swedish army, commanded by the prince-royal, arrived on the frontiers of France. Bernadotte, I know from a private letter, kept saying to all who would listen, that the allies were firmly resolved to deprive Napoleon and his family of power. He spoke of the re-establishment of the Bourbons, as a condition which the allies would impose upon France, but as unavailing as likely enough—thus leaving room to return upon his words, according to circumstances, and the conference at Abo. The Russian contingent was no great affair for the allies: they wished it to be said, in their grand protestation, that Europe was armed against Napoleon. Once more, Europe, leagued against him, by crushing the forces of Blücher, on 7th of March: the contest, however, was obstinate, and very dear. - Victor was grievously

wounded, ■■■■ also Generals Grouchy and Ferrière. But a great moral reaction was taking place upon the ■■■■ Paris, by the proximity of warfare, ■■■■ sight ■■■■ wounded, and of women, from ■■■■ palace to the cellar, occupied in preparing dressings. Hitherto, ■■■■ glory of victory only had reached the capital. ■■■■ trophies of Champ-Aubert ■■■■ Craonne ■■■■ accompanied by convoys of ■■■■ wounded ■■■■ dying, who crowded ■■■■ hospitals of Paris. Still, the Emperor continued to ■■■■ ground, foot by foot. But already ■■■■ Duke d'Angoulême entered Bourdeaux; ■■■■ was known, also, what reception he had met with—more flattering, probably, than wished by those who had facilitated ■■■■ return ■■■■ France. The 21st of March, (a day which fatality seemed ■■■■ have marked out for great ■■■■ in the destiny of Napoleon,) the second city in the empire—not Rome, but Lyons—was ■■■■ by the Austrians, under General Bubna. The same day, Napoleon recovered Arcis, on the Aube, and, ■■■■ the morrow had a horse killed under him; for now he exposed his person, as at the bridge of Arcola. Happy would it have been, if, like Gustavus Adolphus and Turenne, he ■■■■ fallen ■■■■ last of his fields!

While Napoleon thus ■■■■ head against ■■■■ many enemies ■■■■ to overthrow his power, ■■■■ may be said ■■■■ he shewed himself his ■■■■ enemy, either through false calculation, or negligence, relative to his noble prisoners, who, on his departure from Paris, were still detained,—the Pope at Fontainebleau, the Spanish princes at Valençay. The Pope was first released; and I ■■■■ the ■■■■ ■■■■ Rovigo reiterate ■■■■ directions, that he ■■■■ be received throughout France with the deference ■■■■ to ■■■■ years ■■■■ character. Surely, Napoleon thought not of the utility which he might have derived from the Pope's presence ■■■■ Rome, which, ■■■■ case, Murat ■■■■ not have ■■■■ to occupy with Neapolitan troops. Again, with regard ■■■■ Spanish princes, is ■■■■ possible to

conceive that they were retained at Valencey till _____ of March? I am quite aware, _____ neither inspired nor merited any interest, by _____ of his unworthy treatment of his father, and because the *strange character* which he would _____ valop on the throne of Spain _____ been already divined. But the question _____ merely of policy; _____ here the sound judgment _____ Napoleon forsook him. _____ ought to have _____ with the gentry of Valencey, by sending _____ their business, _____ brought _____ troops instantly from _____ south, _____ grand army of Germany began to be driven back even to _____ Rhine, and _____ confines of France. With these _____ legions, and his own genius, it lay within the compass of possibility for Napoleon once again _____ balance fortune. But no! he looked to the nation, and the nation was tired of him: _____ cause had long ceased to be that of the country.

The last days of _____ brought to Napoleon only a series of calamities. On the 23d, the rear-guard of the French army suffered severe losses. Soon after, Prince Schwartzenberg passed the Aube, and marched _____ Vitry and Chalons. Napoleon, reckoning upon the possibility of defending Paris, pounced with eager rapidity _____ the Austrian rear, and seeing the _____ execute a retrograde movement, mistook it for a retreat: but _____ such thing; the movement became an advance upon Paris, and, at _____ same moment, Blucher directed _____ march to _____ Schwartzenberg. Thus Napoleon, who _____ intended _____ intercept their retreat, found himself cut off from Paris. All _____ depended upon _____ defence of the capital; _____ rather, by sacrificing Paris, the existence of the shade of the empire might perhaps be prolonged a few days.

On the 26th took place _____ conflict of Fère Champenoise, wherein valour could not long withstand numbers, and Marshals _____ Mortier _____ constrained _____ retire _____ Senans; and, on that day — I beg the reader to _____ the date — Napoleon

experienced a loss, which, in his circumstances, was irreparable. During the combat of Père Champenoise, was captured, by the allies, a convoy of warlike stores, which consisted of an enormous quantity of ammunition, and equipments of all kinds, comprising almost the whole of the materiel remained to us. This acquisition was deemed so important by the enemy, that a bulletin was ordered of the day printed, announcing the same. A copy of this document fell into the hands of Marshal Macdonald, who rightly judged such intelligence should not be concealed from the Emperor, for he knew, as I have stated in the first volume of *Memoirs*, that Napoleon always desired to be immediately informed of bad news. At this epoch, indeed, Napoleon was so unfortunate that all information, not authenticated, was concealed as long as possible; but of the veracity of the bulletin the Emperor entertained no doubt; he, therefore, repaired in person to the imperial head-quarters, where he found the Emperor preparing to recapture Vitry, then occupied by the Prussians. To dissuade him from this now useless attempt, the marshal put into his hand the bulletin. It was on the morning of the 27th. Napoleon read, but could not credit the intelligence. "No," said he to the marshal, "you are deceived; it is not true." Then, having inspected the bulletin with much attention, "Come here," resumed he eagerly, "examine for yourself; to-day is the 27th, and the bulletin is dated the 29th. You must at once perceive that to be impossible; the bulletin is false!" The marshal, who paid great attention to the date, was struck with astonishment; but, having shewn it to Drouot, "Alas! marshal," said the general, "the information is but too true; there is only a single issue of the press,—the 9 is a 7 reversed!" What sometimes depend the mightiest empires! A figure reversed sufficed to maintain Napoleon's dreams of empire!

it is easy to perceive that all
 be at an end. On the 28th, the allies passed the
 Tripot, and the next day at Meaux, where
 the divisions of Wrede and Sacken remained in
 position, in spite of the vigorous attack by which
 Marshal Mortier repulsed General Yorck, and Clape.
 The remainder of the 28th was devoted by the allies
 to completing their dispositions for attacking Paris
 the morrow ; and by the two Marshals, Marmont and
 Mortier, to sell dearly their entrance into the capital.
 They could not defend it with success ; a capitulation
 saved the city. This was imputed as a crime to
 Marmont : Such is the justice of men !

CHAPTER VI.

DEPARTURE OF THE EMPEROR—ARRIVAL OF THE EMPEROR—LOUISA
 BLOIS—JOSEPH—BATTLE OF PARIS—MAR-
 MONT'S WITHIN THE WALLS—NIGHT
 MARCH—CAPITULATION—ASPECT OF
 PARIS—ENTRY OF THE ALLIES—ENTHUSIASM—
 GOVERNMENT—VIEWS
 ALEXANDER—MODERATION OF ALLIES—
 PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—DECREE OF THE
 NATE—NAPOLEON

THE grandees of the empire, and the ablest subjects of Napoleon, were divided, at this period, into two great classes, wholly different from each other. The first class was composed of those men who had been companions in arms, and, in many instances, the patrons, of Napoleon. Theirs was a privileged sept, whose members, though bowed beneath the same yoke which weighed upon all, and though serving with enthusiastic zeal the emperor who drew them from the crowd, did not, in their imagination, transfer France to the imperial head-quarters, nor forget that there still existed a home—a country—a France, in fine, to whom they gave her a master. They looked upon the preservation of these as inseparable from the existence of the empire. The other class, constituted of those whom I am inclined to term children of the empire, knew not a thought anterior to the present order of things. They beheld only Napoleon and the empire. In their adventurous youth, they had been called from the school to the camp,

by the voice of him who seemed to have predestinated that glory, honour, fortune, which they courted above all things. Hence their devotedness to a person of a single their willingness all—compromise all—in order to prolong political of their emperor. Fortunately, on the other hand, the constituents of the former those who had shed their blood on the fields fought prior even to the fame of General Bonaparte, or under his eye, and guided by his example, could conceive that any single man, whatever might his genius his claims, ought to be preferred to France. These dreaded nothing so much as the dangers of a civil war, and were ready to make every sacrifice for France. This distinction was limited to the ranks of the army, but extended also to the high civil functionaries of the . The reader will bear this in mind, for it will assist to explain the conduct of those of elevated rank, during the the end of March, 1814.

It is impossible, without having witnessed their effects, to conceive the intensity of those passions which, at this period, agitated all minds in the capital, both for and against Napoleon, before the of the Bourbons had yet been pronounced. In fact, these princes had no party. To the generation, they were almost totally unknown: forgotten by many; feared by those of the old conventionals by whom they were remembered, they possessed, in reality, only the support of the drawing-rooms of Fauxbourg St Germain, and the emigration. But the emigration could put forth only unavailing wishes in favour of the family of kings, so it was very certain that contributed very to the return of the Bourbons. One thing, however, clearly demonstrated, that the follies of the emigrants, and their absurd pretensions alone, rendered possible, the following

year, ■■■■■ of Bonaparte, ■■■■■ the second ■■■■■ of Louis. In fact, at the end of March, 1814, before the surrender of Paris, there reigned in ■■■■■ public mind ■■■■■ longing for change; men knew ■■■■■ what they would ■■■■■ have, but ■■■■■ yet resolved on what ■■■■■.

The departure of the Empress from Paris was ■■■■■ decided upon till after considerable discussion. On ■■■■■ of March, the Council of Regency assembled ■■■■■ an extraordinary meeting, where ■■■■■ Louisa presided. Joseph strongly advocated her departure, grounding his opinion on a letter from the Emperor, which ordered, that, if Paris should be threatened, ■■■■■ Empress Regent and Council should retire to Blois. The arch-chancellor (Cambacères) supported the ■■■■■ opinion, which ■■■■■ finally carried. It had been argued in opposition, that, by remaining in Paris, the Empress ■■■■■ likely to obtain favourable ■■■■■ from the allies; ■■■■■ even, ■■■■■ her grandmother, ■■■■■ Theresa, by presenting herself with her son ■■■■■ the people, ■■■■■ the citizens to the defence of the capital. The latter resolution, doubtless, was the ■■■■■d ■■■■■ taneous to the interests of Napoleon; but, ■■■■■ if acted upon, could only have retarded for ■■■■■ few days an ■■■■■ which ■■■■■ become inevitable. Still, it would have been productive of great ■■■■■; but Joseph ■■■■■ few ■■■■■ in ■■■■■ of emergency: the arch-chancellor desired to be gone, doubtless recollecting ■■■■■ comfortable prediction uttered by Bonaparte in my hearing, "If the Bourbons return, you will ■■■■■ hanged;" ■■■■■ Empress and Council, with ■■■■■ ordinary guards, set out for Blois.

The Prince of Benevento, (Talleyrand,) ■■■■■ quality ■■■■■ member of ■■■■■ Council of Regency, likewise received orders ■■■■■ quit Paris ■■■■■ the 30th, but was prevented from ■■■■■ ■■■■■ barrier. I had called at his house, and, ■■■■■ return, was there with ■■■■■ other friends. At the time, the prince ■■■■■ accused

of contriving the agreeable restraint; I can as positively deny the fact: all events, his conduct showed great foresight. From Talleyrand's I went to the Duke of Rovigo, with the avowed intent of persuading him to remain, and to profit by his situation to secure himself from inconveniences. But he unhesitatingly refused,—with such exclusiveness that he attached no value to the fortunes of the Emperor. I found him burning a large fire, burning all papers which might have compromised those who had served the police. These documents might have placed an obstacle in the way of certain arrangements on the 1st of April.

At _____ when the Empress departed, I observed many people looking out for a popular commotion and change of government; but all remained tranquil. No preparations were in progress for barricading the doors, unpaving the streets, pouring missiles and boiling water from the roofs. A great number of the inhabitants, however, were thinking of defence—not to maintain the government of Napoleon—but from that irritation which belongs to our national character. The Parisians _____ indignant at _____ have idea of beholding strangers _____ Paris, an event unexampled since the reign of _____ VII. A thousand different reports _____ time flying about, chiefly concerning Joseph, who, remaining _____ capacity of Lieutenant-general of _____ empire, _____ said to be preparing to seize _____ supreme power. _____ had _____ energy for such _____ act; and, besides, _____ more wanted in Paris _____ lately been in Madrid.

Meanwhile the crisis approached. Mortier, mentioned, had fallen back upon 29th, in order to defend the approaches. Throughout the night, watch ward of barriers, confided national guard, all communication completely, not a single stranger penetrated within the city. The two

Polignac,* who had escaped from their confinement at Vincennes some time before, and were then Alexander's head-quarters, made vain attempts to get admitted. The allies, however, were informed of all that occurred in Paris; and I knew afterwards, that the departure of Maria Louisa hastened their resolution to bring the struggle to a close, by redoubling their efforts to enter the capital of France. On the evening of the 29th, Marmont took up a position at St Mandé, with his right resting upon the Marne, while his left extended to Mortier's right, his troops collected under the heights of Montmartre.

The whole inhabitants of Paris were roused at daybreak on the 30th by the sound of cannon; in a short time, the plain of St Denis appeared covered with the allied army, whose columns poured into it from all points. The heroism of our troops could not withstand such numerical superiority; nevertheless, they made the allies pay dearly for their entrance into the capital. The national guard, under the orders of Marshal Moncey, and the pupils of the polytechnic school, transformed into artillerymen, behaved in a manner worthy of our veteran soldiers. The day, during which, would suffice to render immortal the name of any commander. His troops were reduced to between seven and eight thousand infantry, and eight hundred horse: with this number of brave men he maintained his ground for the space of twelve hours, against an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, of whom, we are assured, fourteen thousand were killed or wounded. He was to be seen in the midst of the fight; a dozen of his men were bayoneted by his side, and his hat was shot through. But what could possibly be done against overwhelming numbers?

* The brothers who figured in the trial of Georges and Pichegru, the only survivor of whom figures still more disgracefully at present.—Translator.

In this state of things, the Duke of Ragusa informed Joseph of the situation, the note, as follows, is important, when connected with subsequent events :

" If the Dukes of Ragusa and Treviso hold out no longer, they are authorized to negotiate with Prince Schwartzberg and the Emperor of Russia, who are in their front. JOSEPH.

" *Montmartre, 12th March, 1814.*

" quarter past mid-day.

" They will retire upon the Loire."

It was not till long after having received this formal treaty, that the French generals ceased their obstinate resistance against the army, since the suspension of hostilities was not taken place till four in the afternoon. Joseph, as is well known, exactly at a quarter past twelve,—that is, immediately after despatching the authority in question, made the best of his way for the road to Versailles, thence proceeded to Rambouillet. The precipitate flight astonished nobody, except a few who did not know him ; but several officers of his staff were sufficiently displeased at being made partners therein, as they at first thought he was going to take up a new position in order to defend the bridge at Neuilly. In these circumstances, the position, which could have been defended two hours longer, had become only desirable when the suspension, which in the capitulation of the ensuing morning, he wore a civic crown, rather reproaches. I have before my mind's eye, the general's appearance on the evening of the 12th March, when he retired to his house, in Paris, from a party of some twenty people, among whom appeared Perregaux and Lafitte, who received him in the drawing-room, which, at that moment, was present to my recollection. When

the marshal entered, he was scarcely to be recognized; his beard shewed a full week's growth, the greatcoat which covered his uniform hung in tatters, and from head to foot he was blackened with powder.

Here a discussion ensued on the necessity of signing a capitulation. This appeared to be a universal sentiment: the marshal will yet recollect, there were many who cry around him—"You save France!" The prefect of the department of the Seine, who was present at the meeting, well aware of what ought to be the sole duty of the chief magistrate of the capital, decidedly expressed his intention to repair, in the course of the night, to the headquarters of the allies, at the head of the municipal body. I applauded highly this patriotic resolution, and M. de Chabrol was fully alive to the immense responsibility that would be incurred, and he exerted every effort to save Paris from the horrors of pillage, to which it would have been exposed by a protracted and vain resistance. Perregaux and Lafitte strongly expressed their opinion to the same effect; this opinion, too, they declared to be that of the public, — of whose sentiments none could be better informed than the celebrated financiers, — and that, in short, France was weary of the yoke of Bonaparte. This last proposition placed the question then on a much broader basis; now, merely the capitulation of Paris, but a change in government, was to be considered, and, for the first time, occurred the name of the Bourbons. I do not recollect who, of all present, upon hearing proposed the recall of the ancient dynasty, remarked upon many who opposed to a restoration, without a return to the past; but I remember perfectly that M. Lafitte replied, in answer to this objection, — "Gentlemen, we can have nothing to fear, if we obtain a good constitution which guarantees the rights of all." A prudent remark which met the majority of

ably of the green drawing-room, influenced little the conduct of the marshal.

Meanwhile this memorable conference was likely to be disturbed by an unexpected incident,—the arrival of an aide-de-camp from the Emperor. Napoleon, having learned the movement of the allies upon Paris, had all the troops posted from the banks of the Seine, by Fontainebleau, and already, at Froimanteau, he expedited this envoy. The language of this officer clearly shewed things were viewed very differently at headquarters in Paris. He expressed his indignation at the idea of capitulation, and announced, with incredible assurance, the speedy arrival of Napoleon in Paris, which he still hoped to save from occupation. At the same time, we were given to understand, Napoleon reckoned upon every species of defence being resorted to by an insurgent population. This address, and these proposals, I answered in a resolution, representing all such outrageous acts of opposition as folly. The majority of those present seconded these opinions, and their reception was finally decided. At a later period, the marshal, in speaking of the transactions of which I have now given a faithful recital,—“I am blamed, my dear friend, but you were in my house on the 10th of March, and you there witnessed what was the choice of the population of Paris. I acted as I did only because I beheld assembled around me those who were entirely disinterested—men who had nothing to expect from the return of the Bourbons.”

The capitulation of Paris saved France. He said, indeed, that, if the capital held another day, the allies would have been ruined, they had fired their last cartridge, that the approach of Napoleon with his army would have rendered the plan of St Denis their Caudine, where, with the same wherewithal, we amuse children,

supported a new or a more ancient order of things, were encouraged by the certainty, that the Emperor Alexander had determined against Bonaparte, and all his family; for his remark to General Ragnier had not remained a secret.

On the morning of the 31st, from daybreak, Paris presented quite a novel spectacle. Scarcely had the French troops, under Colonels Fabvier and Denys, marched from the city, when, from all its richest and most respectable quarters resounded shouts of "Down with Bonaparte! No conscription! No more consolidated imposts!" These cries, more than that of "Long live the Bourbons!" last seen so frequently repeated as the others, and, in general, I observed, that the populace heard and looked on with a sort of indifference. I walked forth early to examine the state of things. Numerous groups were formed: some tearing their handkerchiefs, and distributing the fragments as symbols of the recovered lily: but I confess these manifestations exercised but little influence on my mind. Some hours after, I met a cavalcade, in the square of Louis XV, traversing the streets, distributing white cockades, and shouting, "Long live the king! Long live Louis XVIII!" At the head of the train, were several of the ancient nobles, among whom I recognized Gaston de La Rochefoucauld, Count de Froissard, the Duke of Luxembourg, the Duke de Crussol, Seymour, &c. In a little time, a pretty crowd was thus collected, which rushed tumultuously towards the Place Vendôme. What ensued there is well known; the first effusion of a joy, legitimate in itself, the insults offered to the statue of a man whose misfortunes, merited not, ought to have formed a protection against such outrages. These insults, moreover, affected also the army of France, which yet acknowledged Napoleon, and the partisans whom he still numbered in Paris. They answered the

however, of one party, 'to make these unmanly proceedings pass for an expression of public sentiment, since Count Nesselrode demanded proofs that the Bourbons were supported by the population of Paris, before he would engage to second their cause with his master.

A meeting, less public indeed, but scarcely tumultuous, had meanwhile assembled in the hotel Count Morfontaine, who, in consequence, presided. Here, the violent and ridiculous motions, of which confusion rendered the discussion impossible, M. de Rochefoucauld, happily exercising his lungs so as to obtain a hearing, where he spoke and no one listened, proposed instantly to send a deputation to the Emperor Alexander, who had his head-quarters in the hotel Talleyrand. Here I was present when the deputation arrived, consisting of the proposer of the measure, M. de Ferrand, Choiseul, and Chateaubriand, who, on that very day, had become, by it, the precursor of the Restoration by his admirable pamphlet, — *Bonaparte and the Bourbons*. He had indeed consented to join the deputation, but nothing could induce him to speak. These gentlemen were not introduced to Alexander, but to a conference with Nesselrode, who said, "I have just quitted the Emperor: I guarantee his intentions return: and say, Louis XVIII. will re-ascend the throne of France." This happy news, when announced, redoubled, if possible, the tumult in the hotel; is it to be conjectured when how it might have ended, not Talon proposed that they should sally and spread their lights. I unite my grief to theirs who lament the stigma brought on national glory; but have no community of sentiment with those who, in all changes, found the suitors of fortune; who, in shouting "Long live Alexander! Long live the Bourbons! Down with Bonaparte!" only, "Long live our places! Our pensions for ever! God bless our noble selves!"

I was not by the explosion of the shell which accompanied Alexander along the whole of the Boulevards, when he entered as a conqueror into Paris. The French beheld in him the hope of a happier futurity; they saw, indeed, an army of foreigners marching into their capital, each soldier wearing on his arm a white scarf, in token of peace. Yet I would have had more of decent sobriety: there is a certain dignity to be departed from, and a national gravity demands respect: above all, I would have had forbearance towards a conquered power. However it may be judged, the certain truth is, that the allies, when they marched victorious into Paris, were received with enthusiastic acclamations. Men may approve or blame, but cannot deny, this fact. I observed all with close attention, and with deeper feelings than curiosity; for I remarked an expression of a sentiment, whose existence might have been long foreseen. Greatness seemed to have unseated itself in the mind of Bonaparte. Whoever carefully follows the series of acts during the last four years of the empire, will readily perceive, that, from the period of his alliance with the daughter of the Cæsars, the administrative forms of the empire became daily more and more oppressive. In the intoxication of conquest, the empire of reverse, one senatorial decree followed another, with a rapidity which almost overwhelmed the population, incessantly hurrying the levies beyond the frontiers; while the disproportionate requisitions added an unfeeling irony. Jean d'Angely dared to maintain, that the conscription favoured population. I have already mentioned the attempt of the legislative body, in 1813, to emerge from the state, and to give a lesson to him who had taken the empire. What was the consequence? The gendarmes received orders to prevent the deputies from leaving the Assembly. The things were remembered, and tended to exasperate

spirits of men on the 31st of March. The illusions, also, of an unexampled career were now daily suffering a rude dispersion; the glory which surrounded the imperial throne, ceasing to dazzle, allowed the eye to perceive, that it was based on a mere pageant of France by the sword, Napoleon no longer enjoyed right claims, when that sword was sheathed, was not popular with the nation, the dynasty which had aspired to found. The national admiration only, not attachment, followed him in his love not where we fear; and Napoleon had done nothing to the affections of France.

Having thus examined the aspect of Paris, and viewed the march along the Boulevards, I hastened from the procession of the sovereigns to the hotel of M. de Talleyrand, in order to be there before the Emperor Alexander, who arrived about a quarter of one. Immediately after, began those political discussions, which so many were depending, and which continued till three o'clock. In the existing state of things, only one of three was practicable. 1. To make peace with Napoleon, under possible securities, 2. To establish a regency, 3. To recall the Bourbons. To Bernadotte, no one would have him; not that objections rested against his personal character, but because, in his hand, a cloud of rivals would have gathered around him, and civil war might have been the consequence, and, on the other, being a native Frenchman armed against France, was a source of a strongly to inflame the national susceptibilities. Still, though Alexander remained firm in his intention, not ostensibly to influence the government which France might select for herself, he always inclined towards his former design in favour of Bernadotte, as explained in the interview at Abo. As Moreau, was quite a gratuitous supposition, he never intended to support him in any view.

might have entertained of placing himself at the head of the French in France. At all events, the cannon ball of the 20th of March settled the question. The events which he had that morning witnessed in the progress through the capital, confirmed the Russian monarch in his determination he had formed since the campaign of Moscow, to overturn, should that ever be possible, the dynasty of Napoleon. But, though the Emperor had arrived, Alexander, like most of those opposed to Bonaparte, had resolved upon what was to be put down, without having any fixed ideas of the system to be established. I assisted at all the conferences. When Alexander entered the saloon, the majority therein assembled demanded the Bourbons. Meanwhile, the Emperor pronounced no decision; but, taking me apart to one of the front windows, gave me to understand what that decision would be, by saying, "M. de Bourrienne, you have been Napoleon's friend; so have I, and a sincere one too; but peace is impossible with a man of such bad faith. *We must have done with him.*"

Those last words opened my eyes; and, in the discussion that ensued upon the three forms above, and which Alexander himself had proposed, the Emperor plainly enacted a part, in pretending to doubt the possibility of restoring the Bourbons, in order to ascertain decidedly the opinions of those around him. M. de Talleyrand assured his imperial majesty, that in case of this last resolution being definitively adopted, all the constituted authorities would act with much regularity in circumstances permitted, and the Emperor conceived himself empowered to pledge himself for the consent of the senate. He then left Abbés Louis and Pradt, (who, with General Desolles, had pronounced warmly in favour of the Bourbons,) to explain their sentiments, and, I think, recommended Alexander to interrogate them, as men interested solely in the welfare of France, and thoroughly informed of public sentiment. Present, besides us French and Alexander, the King

Prussia, Prince Schwartzberg, M. de Nesselrode, Pozzo Borgo, and Prince de Lichtenstein. Emperor kept standing or walking backwards and forwards, some appearance of agitation, then elevating his voice, said to us, "Gentlemen, you know it I who commenced war; you know Napoleon came to attack We are not here thirsting for conquest, or animated by the of vengeance. I nor my allies make a of reprisal; and I should have been inconsolable, had any thing happened to your magnificent city, the miracle of art. We are not at war with France. have two opponents to combat,—Napoleon, and every enemy of French liberty. William, you, Prince," added the Emperor, turning to the King of Prussia and Prince Schwartzberg, the Austrian representative, "are not these also your sentiments?" Both assented; and Alexander repeated, in other terms, the same expressions of generosity, insisting particularly that he wished France to be perfectly free, stating, that, though their inclinations might be known, neither nor his allies would exercise any influence to the form of government. Upon this the Abbé de Pradt declared that were all royalists, and that the whole of France thought with Paris, he went on to observe, had that morning proclaimed the feelings in presence of majesties, which sentiments would be expressed in a solemn manner, when the people should no longer be chained down by fear. Besides, Paris the head of France; and, in all revolutionary movements, the country had obeyed the impulse received from the metropolis. Alexander enumerated the three propositions, speaking of maintaining Bonaparte on the throne—of the establishment of a regency—of Bernadotte—and of the restoration of the Bourbons. Upon this, Talleyrand, who of shewn self throughout most disposed main—Napoleon power, by placing restrictions

the exercise of his authority, replied in the following words, too remarkable for me to forget,—“Sire, there are no possible alternatives,—either Bonaparte or Louis XVIII. Bonaparte, if you can; but you cannot, for you are not alone. Whom would they give us in his room?—a soldier! We will have no more soldiers. Did we wish one, we would retain him whom we have: he is the first soldier in the world. After him, those who might be offered to us would have ten men in their favour. I repeat, sire, whatever is not Louis XVIII, is Napoleon, is an intrigue.”

These words produced upon the Emperor all which would have been expected. The question was thus simplified; and Alexander had resolved on the exclusion of Napoleon, pressed by all, Talleyrand, who still the question undecided between the empire and monarchy, he declared that he would not ally with Napoleon; being reminded that he applied only to the person of the Emperor, added, “with any member of the Napoleon family.” Thus, from the 31st of March, the Bourbons had in reality become sovereigns of France. A declaration was then drawn up, and signed by Alexander, “That the allies would treat with Napoleon; that they would respect the integrity of the ancient territories of France, as these had existed under her lawful kings; they would recognise and guarantee the constitution which the French nation should adopt; and invited the senate to name a Provisional Government, supply immediate of administration, and prepare a suitable constitution for the French people.” This declaration printed and placarded over Paris within an hour. It produced a prodigious effect, and a short intrigues of a contrary tendency. In the evening I repaired again to the Russian head-quarters; about eleven o’clock at night, Alexander sent to me, “M. Bourrienne, you must take upon you the office

"postmaster-general." I instantly assuming my duties, I found that not only had no preparations been made for a regular delivery next morning, but I had been dismissed. However, by labouring throughout the night, I reorganized the service, and on the morning of the 31st of April, the delivery took place as usual; a circumstance of great importance to the cause of the Restoration, which passed the eventful 31st of March.

The principal point obtained, is the declaration above, which was followed of course. When fully appeared the error committed in sending away the Empress from Paris. Had there existed a government in the capital, the government must first have treated with its sovereign. The Provisional Government named by the senate, or rather that which had been prepared beforehand and authorized by the senate—a body too long trained in habits of obedience to make any change on the list—consisted of Talleyrand, as president; General Bournonville; Count François de Jaucourt; the Duke Dalberg; the Abbé Montesquieu. The government named a ministry, Abbé Louis, finance; Malouet, admiralty; General Dupont, war; General Desolles, commander of the national guard; Abbé Pradt, chancellor of the Legion of Honour,—an appointment which excited derision, but a good abbé who had done much for the Bourbons, and deserved something; and me, as before mentioned, postmaster-general.

In all changes, there is a crisis where fear and hope join issue; and those opposed to the emperor of 31st, still cherished illusions founded on the personal absence of the Emperor of Austria. Francis, however, coincided with his father-in-law in every thing, and came back merely from a sense of decency towards his son-in-law. This I knew from the Emperor Alexander, who replied to my own question on the subject. While these things were transacting in Paris, the south of France had followed the example

Bourdeaux, and [] for the Bourbons. The [] of Napoleon was [] every [] becoming [] critical. Before [] surrender of the capital, [] [] as [] envoy [] the Emperor Alexander, Caulaincourt, who arrived [] the Russian head-quarters, [] the night between the [] [] of []. But a deputation of [] municipal body and [] [] prefects of Paris [] [] receiving audience, and not till after this reception [] Caulaincourt admitted Alexander, personally attached to the Duke of Virena, received him, [] [] individual, with much complacency, but, [] [] envoy of Napoleon, the Emperor merely said,—“ [] [] useless to come now, seeing there [] no longer any remedy. I cannot hear you at present, repair [] Paris, I will see you there.” These words left few illusions in Caulaincourt’s mind as to the result of his mission. The conversation which took place in Paris [] [] a secret, only, from [] [] [] [] let fall by the Emperor, [] gathered, that the duke had been received rather as a private person than as the representative of [] power which, after the declaration, could no longer be recognized. Nevertheless, the Provisional Government viewed Caulaincourt’s residence in Paris with no favourable eye, and, on a representation to that effect, the Emperor enjoined his removal, declaring, that the allies could not [] [] the communications with which he might be charged from Napoleon. These communications, were, in fact, unlimited powers to treat and to conclude upon any conditions. Caulaincourt had [] [] been appointed commissary-general of Paris, while [] [] allies remained [] the capital, but these high functions had [] [] been superseded, and he returned to Fontainebleau, where the Emperor then [] [] his head-quarters.

The 1st of April having been devoted [] [] organization of the Provisional Government, [] [] to certain preliminary acts, on [] [] morning [] [] [] [] promulgated [] [] following decree:—

" I. Napoleon Bonaparte has forfeited the throne; and the right of succession in his family is abolished.

" II. The French people and the army are released from their oath of fidelity to Napoleon Bonaparte.

" III. The present decree shall be transmitted by the Provisional Government of France; despatched afterwards to all the departments, to the armies; and proclaimed immediately in the quarters of the capital."

Authorized by this instrument, the Provisional Government issued, on the same day, a proclamation to the French armies, without waiting the sanction of the legislative body, which was given the morrow. This address, the decree, were variously despatched to the marshals, and, of course, first reached those nearest Paris. The copy sent to Marmont—who, on the capitulation of Paris, had marched his troops to Raconne, where he had remained, except during a short visit to the Emperor at Fontainebleau—was accompanied by letters from General Desolles, Prince Schwartzenberg, and myself. Mine was a note, running as follows:—

" A friend, dear friend, tells me that he will deliver into your own hand this pledge of my regard. He will influence your resolutions; a single word will suffice to decide you to sacrifice all for the happiness of your country. You—if a good Frenchman,—if a loyal knight—will fear neither dangers nor obstacles, in order to secure that happiness. We expect you—we desire you—will have you—and soon I hope that your friend, your friends, will hold you in their arms. I embrace as I love you. B."

The last sentence of the Prince's letter expressed the common tenor of the two others. " I call upon you, in the name of your country, and of humanity,

to embrace ■■■ invitation of the Provisional Government—to ■■■ yourself under the standard of the good French cause—to listen to propositions ■■■ put ■■■ to the effusion of ■■■ precious blood of the brave ■■■ under your command." To this letter, ■■■ replied ■■■ strain ■■■ honour ■■■ ancient attachment.

" To ■■■ Prince de Schwartzenberg.

" Monsieur le Marechal,—I have received the letter which your highness has done me the honour ■■■ address to me, as also all the enclosed papers. Public opinion ■■■ ever been ■■■ rule of my conduct. The army and the people are freed from their ■■■ of fidelity to the Emperor Napoleon, by the decree of the senate. I am disposed ■■■ concur in ■■■ dation between the army ■■■ the people, which may prevent a civil war, and put a stop to the effusion of French blood. I ■■■ ready, in consequence, ■■■ quit, with my troops, the army of the Emperor Napoleon, upon the following conditions, for the fulfilment of which I request your written guarantee:—

" Article I. I, Charles Prince de Schwartzenberg, marshal, commander-in-chief of the allied armies, guarantee to ■■■ French troops, who, ■■■ quence of ■■■ decree of the senate, promulgated ■■■ the ■■■ April, shall quit the ■■■ dard ■■■ Napoleon Bonaparte, that they ■■■ allowed to pass freely into Normandy, with ■■■ baggage, and ■■■ tion, and with all those observances and military honours ■■■ are mutually interchanged among the allied troops.

" Article II. That if, in consequence ■■■ ■■■ ment, the chances of war shall place the person of Napoleon Bonaparte in the ■■■ of the ■■■ d powers, ■■■ life and liberty shall ■■■ secured to him, on a property within a limited territory, fixed upon by the ■■■ powers and ■■■ French government.

" MARMONT."

After [redacted] reply, Marshal [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] united to the cause of France; and received on [redacted] [redacted] following assurance from Prince Schwartzberg, [redacted] the proposed conditions would be [redacted] expected:—

" [redacted] our [redacted] Marechal,—I cannot sufficiently express to you the satisfaction which I experienced [redacted] learning [redacted] readiness with which you yield [redacted] the invitation of the Provisional Government, to range yourself, conformably to the decree [redacted] [redacted] second of [redacted] month, under the banners of the French [redacted]. The distinguished services which you have rendered to your country are universally acknowledged; [redacted] you will add even to these by restoring to their native land the remnant of its brave defenders who have [redacted] the ambition of a single man. I request [redacted] you [redacted] believe, that I especially appreciate the delicacy of the article for which you stipulate, and which I accept, relative to the person of Napoleon. Nothing could better characterize the noble generosity natural [redacted] Frenchmen, [redacted] which particularly belongs [redacted] the sentiments of your excellency. Accept [redacted] [redacted] of my high consideration.

" From my head-quarters, this 4th April, 1814.

" SCHWARTZENBERG."

We shall ascertain hereafter the circumstances which induced Marshal Marmont to resume his pledge, and the generous confidence with which it was restored by [redacted] Austrian commander-in-chief.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SIEGE AT FONTAINEBLEAU—NAPOLEON'S JOUR-
 NAL FROM TROYES—ANECDOTES—REVIEW OF THE
 MARSHALS—THE ARMY—INTERVIEW OF NAPOLEON
 AND MACDONALD—ABDICATION—ANECDOTES—
 THE LEGISLATIVE COMMISSIONERS—INTERVIEW WITH
 ALEXANDER—ANECDOTES—DEFECTION OF MAR-
 MONT'S TROOPS—TRICOLOR AND WHITE—
 MARIA LOUISA, AND ACTS OF THE REGENCY—
 SECOND INTERVIEW OF THE COMMISSIONERS—
 ALEXANDER AND THE KING OF PRUSSIA—
 TO FONTAINEBLEAU—DEFECTION OF KEY—AFFEC-
 TING ADIEUS OF NAPOLEON AND MACDONALD—
 THE ABDICATION—ENTRANCE OF THE
 INTO—THE OF AUSTRIA—INTER-
 LOUISA HER

I am now to relate what passed in the imperial
 head-quarters, while we were thus engaged in Paris.
 The recital is from the reports of zealous and able
 friends, then with the Emperor, whose information
 I expected with the anxiety—well knowing
 that only danger to him from
 of those instantaneous determinations which might
 possibly spring up in the mind of Napoleon.

On the morning of the 30th of March, while the
 under the walls of Paris waxed fiercest, Bona-
 parte still remained at Troyes. He quitted that
 city at six o'clock, accompanied only by Bertrand,
 Caulaincourt, two aides-de-camp, and two officers
 of the household. He took less than two hours

MEMOIRS OF

for the first ten leagues,--a distance which he and his feeble escort accomplished with the same horses, and without alighting. About one o'clock, they reached Sens, not one of his escort knowing whither the Emperor intended to direct his course. I have since conversed with several inhabitants of that place, who assured me, that, at this time, his aspect presented an appearance of the perfect calm. After remaining about half an hour, he again set out, but in such disorder was every thing, that the transport were not to be procured, so that the Emperor and I were obliged to accept of a miserable conveyance, in which equipage they reached Froidmanteau, twelve miles from Paris, about one o'clock in the morning. Here Napoleon learned from General Belliard, then marching at the head of a column of artillery, the first news of the battle of Paris. I know from a person present, that he received this information with calmness, probably assumed, in order not to discourage those about him. He walked above a quarter of an hour on the highway, conversing with Belliard, and afterwards despatched Caulaincourt on already noticed. Napoleon then retired to the postmaster's house, and, calling for maps, began, according to a usual practice, to mark the positions of his own and the enemy's troops, by pins tipped with wax of different colours. After this species of study, in which Napoleon engaged daily, and sometimes several times a-day, he again got a carriage, and went out for Fontainebleau, where he arrived at six in the morning. He refused to have his apartments opened, but encamped, rather than lodged, in a favourite small suit of rooms, and, entering his cabinet, there remained shut alone, during the whole of the 31st. Towards evening, a messenger was despatched for the Duke of Ragusa, of the House of Bourbon. The Duke immediately prepared to obey the Emperor's summons, and reached Fontainebleau between two and three in the morning. I

now [] thing particular of this interview; only Napoleon retained Marmont to supper, [] bestowed [] highest eulogiums on his skilful defence of Paris. [] then returned to [] troops [] Essonne, and, [] hours afterwards, the Emperor went thither also, [] inspect the lines. Here he [] Colonels Fabvier and Denys, who had been left behind [] Paris, to see the terms of capitulation fulfilled, and [] [] render [] city to [] allies. These officers rejoined the Emperor and their commander, then walking together upon the banks of the river. They did not resemble [] [] already described, produced by the entrance of the allies into the capital. The Emperor shewed himself violently irritated, [] [] but immediately for Fontainebleau.

In the course of the 31st, had arrived, successively, at Fontainebleau, Marshals Moncey, Lefebvre, Oudinot, and, lastly, Berthier, from Troyes, where he [] [] left by [] Emperor. The first, at the National Guard, had defended the barrier De Clichy; the second, [] withstanding his great age, [] not spared his person in the last campaign; the Duke of Reggio, the third, [] been named by Talleyrand a second Bayard. Maret was the only minister present; for Caulaincourt had gone to Paris on his mission, while all the others had been ordered to remain with the Empress at Blois, [] Savary, much to his affliction, had received [] authority [] rejoin the Emperor. All [] and [] gloomy [] Fontainebleau: still the Emperor retained his power, and deliberated, [] I have been assured, whether [] should retire beyond the Loire, [] make a bold stroke upon Paris,—a design more consistent with his character; and [] [] actually begun seriously [] [] plans of attack, when the news of what [] [] [] unsuccessful [] [] of Caulaincourt, [] him [] perceive [] [] position [] [] desperate than [] had previously supposed. [] the information from [] capital, however, served only to irritate him still more; [] [] [] marshals,

these of resentment, been under the of the same unreflecting zeal which animated younger officers attached to the Emperor, it is certain that he would have given way to useless vengeance; for I cannot too frequently repeat, the of Napoleon had become inevitable.

In time, the vanguards of the columns left at Troyes, arrived, on the 1st of April, Fontainebleau, surpassing, in this instance, former marches of any army, since these troops had traversed fifty leagues in less than three days.* On the 2d of April, the Emperor informed the generals of the events in Paris, recommending concealment, lest the soldiery, whom he still depended, might be discouraged. On the same day, he held a review in the court of the palace; and, the officers of the guard drawing up in a circle, he thus addressed them: "Soldiers! the enemy stolen three marches upon us, of Paris; we must chase him thence. Frenchmen, unworthy of the name, and emigrants, whom we pardoned, have mounted the white cockade, and joined the foe. The cowards! they shall receive the reward of this new crime. Swear to conquer or die, and the tricolor be respected, which, for twenty years has marshalled us onward in the path of glory and of honour." Not content with this harangue, which was inserted also in the order of the day, addressed to the army, I know, from a person worthy of credit, that, in order to persuade them to second his designs upon Paris, he endeavoured to make them believe in having sincerely sought peace; affirming them, he had offered the Emperor Alexander to purchase the greatest sacrifices, even by abandoning the conquests made during the Revolution, and to restrict himself within the ancient limits of France. "Alexander has refused,"

* above fifty miles a-day.

added Napoleon, "and, not satisfied with this refusal, I thrown himself into the arms of a handful of emigrants, whom, perhaps, I did wrong in pardoning for having served against France. It is through these peccadilloes insinuations that Alexander permitted the reappearance of the white cockade in Paris. We will retain our own, and, in a few days, I shall march against Paris: I march upon you!"

When the boundless devotion of the guard to the Emperor was considered, it will not be of surprise that these words roused an electric movement of enthusiasm. From the ranks of the companions in the toils of their chief, rose, as from a single voice, the cry, "To Paris! Paris!" But, during the night that followed, calmer counsels were adopted by the general, and inanimated, by degrees, into the minds of the soldiers. The wrecks of the army assembled at Fontainebleau,—the remains of a million of men, landed fifteen months, comprising the corps of Oudinot, Ney, Macdonald, and General Gerard,—did not exceed twenty-five thousand. To these were to be added seven thousand, yet the living of the guard, rendering the whole Napoleon's disposable force somewhat less than thirty-two thousand. With such resources, it would have been an act of madness to attempt any thing against the encamped and Paris. These details I received from Lefebvre, who, like Massena, served France, without leaving Napoleon. This officer often repeated to me, in his broad German accent, while relating his last acts at Fontainebleau, "That little —— would be satisfied till he got done for, to the very last man" told me, also, that Napoleon remained utterly confounded on learning with what disdain Alexander had refused to hear Caulaincourt's proposals: but humiliation, from time to time, gave way to resentment, and then especially would he urge his determination to march upon Paris. Happily for France, not one of the

marshals felt disposed to second his projects of profitless vengeance.

Throughout these trying circumstances, Macdonald displayed a truly noble conduct. Yet the manner in which the Emperor chose to inform him of the capture of Paris, seemed little calculated to conciliate a high-minded soldier. The marshal had been two days without any intelligence from the Emperor, when he received, in the handwriting of Berthier, an intimation, couched in these terms:—"The Emperor orders you to make a halt, wherever this order may reach you." Then, after Berthier's signature, were the following words, by way of postscript:—"You are doubtless aware that the enemy is master of Paris." In stating, thus negligently, an affair of such vital consequence, the Emperor's object plainly was, to lessen its importance in Macdonald's estimation. The marshal, from whose lips I heard the whole recital—but in a style of animation which the pen unfortunately cannot reproduce—expressed his deep anxiety caused by so singular a postscript, while he was far from certain that Paris had not experienced, from hostile reprisal, the fate of Moscow. Six hours afterwards, a new order reached him, from Montreuil, to set forward in the direction of Paris, with all his remaining forces. On receipt of this, Macdonald, preceding his corps, set off, with all speed, and joined the Emperor at Fontainebleau, on the 28th. On arriving, he found the generals in consternation at the determination expressed by the Emperor to march upon Paris: they came in a body, and requested the marshal to accompany them to the imperial presence. "Gentlemen," said he, "in the present conjuncture, a step might displease his majesty: leave the matter to me; I am going to the palace." His conduct of this visit, to which I beg the reader's attention, is as follows:—

"No sooner had I presented myself, than the Emperor came to me: 'Rè, well! how go things?'

'Very ill, sire'—'What! 'Very ill?' 'Is your army disposed?'—'My army, sire, is completely discouraged, in the capital have spread con- through the ranks.'—'Think you it will join with me in a movement upon Paris?'—'Sure, trust me to that. Should I give such an order to my troops, I run the hazard of being decimated.'—'But what am I to do? I cannot remain as I am. I have still friends and supporters. Do they me the allies refuse to treat? Eh, well! It is quite the same to me, I shall march against Paris: I shall punish the inconstancy of the Parisians, the treachery of the [blank]. We to the members of the government which they have plastered up, waiting the return of their Bourbons,—for that is what they want! But to-morrow I place myself at the head of my guard, and to-morrow I shall be in the Tuileries!'" While Napoleon gave way to these bursts, the marshal heard him in silence, then, seeing him somewhat calmer, "Sure," said he, "you are then ignorant of what has occurred in Paris, the establishment of a Provisional Government, and"—"I know"—"Sure," rejoined the marshal, presenting a paper, "there is something which will tell you more than I can"—"What is it?"—"Examine, sire"—"It was a letter from Bernadotte, Beurnonville, announcing the determination of the allies to march with Napoleon, nor any of his family." "Marshal," said the Emperor, "may that letter be read aloud?"—"Certainly, sire." The marshal handed the letter to Barré, who read it. An eye-witness subsequently described to me the impression which the reading of this letter upon Napoleon. His countenance became violently contracted—and, in critical situations, I have seen

* At this period, the discouragement was so great, that all the roads in France were literally covered with deserters from the

observed the effect, not to imagine he have been. Still commanding himself, as he did, when policy or self-love required, he affected a careless indifference, and persisted in his plan of marching upon Paris. "Upon Paris, sire!" said Marshal Macdonald; "that is a design which must be renounced: not a single sword will be drawn from its scabbard to second you in such an attempt." The question of the plan then more seriously under discussion. The plan had been proposed by Caulaincourt, who represented Napoleon, that, by personally abdicating, he might obtain from the allies a council of regency in favour of his son. I have always considered this overture somewhat premature on the part of Caulaincourt. Be that as it may, perceiving the opinion of his marshals, finding his dethronement already pronounced, and entertaining hopes of a regency from the measure, Napoleon drew up, with his own hand, and signed his act of abdication, in the following terms:—

"The allied powers having proclaimed, that the Emperor Napoleon is the sole obstacle to the establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend from the throne, to relinquish France, himself, for the good of the country, inseparable from the rights of his son, from those of the regency under the Empress, and from the maintenance of the laws of the empire.

"Done at the palace of Fontainebleau, this 4th April, 1814. NAPOLEON."

After writing this act, the Emperor presented it to the marshals: "There, gentlemen. Eh, well! are you satisfied?" It is remarked, however, that, in this act, the Emperor made no mention of the decree of the senate, nor of the adhesion of the legis-

body. This would have been an acknowledg-
 of right to the shadow of a national
 representation, and was not the intention of
 Napoleon, even descending from the throne: he
 desired it should be perfectly understood, he
 obeyed force, and not the right, of the nation;
 finally, he manifested his wish, that his very abdi-
 cation might be the impress of a despotism, inse-
 perable from a legacy he leave
 us abdicating—the laws of the Empire!—What
 a codicil France in this species of political testa-
 ment! Besides, this abdication of Napoleon's was,
 unquestionably, very useless; but, in my opinion,
 importance had been attached thereto, it would have
 become altogether a mockery if circumstances
 changed. The meaning might be unequivocal to
 the world; not so to me, initiated I was in
 the cunning, of which Bonaparte could not divest
 himself. Let it be well remarked, that Napoleon
 does not say he *descends*, but, that he is *ready to*
descend from the throne. This exhibits one of his
 favourite subterfuges, by the aid of which he hoped
 to bring on negotiations, relative to the forms
 and conditions of the regency for his son, provided
 the allied sovereigns should consent to it.
 This would have afforded the means of gaining time,
 for he had not yet lost all hope; but, certainly, he
 here strangely beguiled himself. He still cherished
 the flattering idea of the possibility of an arrangement,
 which would leave the throne to Louis and
 his dynasty. He would not believe that the Emperor
 of Austria would concur in the ruin of his daughter.
 Accordingly, he had no sooner signed and deli-
 vered the act of abdication, than he wished to
 it, upon the report of some one who then entered, I
 think General Allix, and who came in with an
 Austrian officer, whom I saw IL. Prince
 Schwartzemberg. The general informed Napoleon
 that the officer in question had positively assured

No regency! I will my guard and Marmont's corps, I will go to-morrow."

From the information, and from what I afterwards learned of various officers present at the scene, it was easy to perceive, from the thoughts and resolutions which shot across the brain of Napoleon, how deeply his moral faculties had been unsettled by the perturbations which assailed him during the three months. Ney and the Emperor vainly attempted to combat the resolution equally impracticable. The Emperor, in great displeasure, rubbing his forehead—a habit, when strongly agitated—and commanded them, in a loud imperious tone, to "Retire!" The marshals left the apartment, and Napoleon remained alone with Caulaincourt. The Emperor expressed much disapprobation at the reading of Bernonville's letter.—"But, sire, it was read by your own order."—"Ah, that is true! but why was not that letter sent to me by Macdonald?"—"Sire, it was at first addressed to Marshal Macdonald, but the aide-de-camp to whom it had been given in charge received orders to cause it to be read to Marmont, on passing through Essonne, because Bernonville knew not exactly where the Duke of Tarentum might be found." This explanation did not occupy more than three minutes. The Emperor became calm, appeared satisfied with it, and said to Caulaincourt, "Vicomte, recall Macdonald."

The duke, after the marshal, whom he overtook at the extremity of the gallery of the palace, and, explaining what had taken place, brought him back to the imperial presence. Macdonald found the Emperor quite calm, and, as he entered, he greeted him with perfect tranquillity:—"Well, Duke of Tarentum, do you then think the regency is the only thing possible?"—"Yes, sire."—"Well, then, I charge you with the message to the Emperor Alexander: you will go with Ney, in place of Marmont: it is better that he should remain with his

division; ■ presence is indispensable ■ his army : go you with Ney ; I rely upon you : I hope you have entirely forgotten the circumstances which separate us so long ?"—" Yes, sire ; I have never once thought of them since 1809."*—" I rejoice to hear it ; but, marshal—nay, I must make the acknowledgment—I am wrong."—" Sire !" The Emperor, while speaking thus, shewed unusual emotion. He approached, took the marshal's hand, and pressing it affectionately, ■ only ■ word—" Go."

The Emperor's three commissioners, namely, ■ MacDonald, Ney, and Caulaincourt, had ■ to inform Marmont, that, on passing through Rastogne, they would dine with him, and explain the occurrences at Fontenoybleau. They even invited him ■ accompany them to the Emperor Alexander. This obliged him to describe his situation and engagements with Prince Schwartzemberg. It became absolutely necessary, also, that he should himself go to the Prince's headquarters, in order to arrange about the requisite passports for the commissioners, before they could go into Paris. In their presence, at his head-quarters in Petit-Bourg, Prince Schwartzemberg restored to Marmont ■ pledge of adherence to the Provisional Government. I know that afterwards the Prince expressed high ■ for the honourable conduct of Marmont, and considered ■ desire to unite with his fellow soldiers, in favour of their fallen chief, ■ alike natural and becoming. I believe the four commissioners ■ retained ■ supper by the prince, and ■ leaving table, repaired to the head-quarters of the Emperor Alexander, for whose ■ they ■ been waiting.

The reader is already informed of my nomination to be director-general of the post-office. I found ■ things in great confusion, and ■ immense quantity of letters detained for nearly three years back. ■

* This alludes to certain ■ made by MacDonald on the conduct of the First Consul towards Morcau. ■ Appendix.—Translator.

I [] to be forwarded, inserting a notice to [] in [] *Monsieur* of the 4th April, and it may give [] idea of the number, to state, that nearly 300,000 francs (£ 12,500) were thus recovered by [] postages. [] system of strangulation, applied [] even of the most private and confidential nature, displays a characteristic trait of the imperial government during the last years of its existence. The night following this advertisement, I was awakened by a government express, requiring my instant attendance at the Hotel Talleyrand. I arrived a few [] before the marshals [] sioners from the Emperor. During the conference which ensued, we were left in the saloon, and a consternation appeared among [] members of the Provisional Government which it would be difficult to describe. In fact, [] regency been established, only voluntary exile could have saved the members of the Provisional Government. The interview [] prolonged, and I vainly endeavoured, by arguments drawn from the pledge given by the allied sovereigns, especially Alexander, and, from existing circumstances, [] [] colleagues. Meanwhile, I had leisure [] be informed, that the commissioners had previously held a conference with Talleyrand, in which he said, —“Gentlemen, what do you intend? Should [] succeed in your designs, you will compromise all—and they [] not few—who have entered this chamber [] the [] of April: as for myself, think not of me—I wish [] compromised.” The [] evening, not three hours before, [] [] also been sent for, when Talleyrand said, in my hearing, to the Emperor [] Russia,—“Will you support Bonaparte? No; you cannot, and you will not. There is [] middle course between Napoleon and Louis XVIII. Bernadotte, Eugene, a regency—each [] intrigue, with neither force nor circumstances [] sustain [] object: Louis XVIII. [] a principle.” [] last words became a favourite expression.

The time appeared long, to more than one of the members of the Provisional Government, General Desolles, as commandant of the national guard, being the only one of that body admitted. This arose from a wish to avoid appearing to influence the decision of the head of the coalition against the late chief of France. At length the conference broke up, and the reappearance of the marshals excited a movement in ■■ saloon, which it would be impossible ■■ ■■ ■■ expression of dissatisfaction, which we conceived to be visible in their looks, restored hope to those who, for some hours, had experienced the liveliest tribulation. I still ■■■ I see Macdonald, bearing his head high, and giving way to a burst of energetic wrath, go up to Bournoville, and, in reply to a question addressed by the latter, answer in these words,—“ Speak ■■ to me, sir; I have nothing to say to you: your conduct has made me forget a friendship of thirty years.” Then, turning to Dupont, the marshal continued in the same tone, “ As for you, sir, your behaviour towards the Emperor ■■ ■■ generous. I grant he treated you with severity,—perhaps he may even have been unjust to you in the affair of Baylen; but how long has it been the fashion to avenge a personal wrong at our country's expense !”

These altercations were so quick and warm, and the speakers elevated their voices to such a pitch, that Caulaincourt interposed by saying, “ Do ■■ forget, gentlemen, that you are now in the residence of the Emperor of Russia.” ■■ this moment, M. de Talleyrand returned, having entered ■■ Emperor's apartment ■■ the access of the marshals, and, approaching the animated group, ■■■ around Macdonald, said, “ Gentlemen, if you wish ■■ dispute—to discuss, descend to my apartments.”—“ That would be useless,” retorted Macdonald; “ my comrades and I acknowledge ■■ your Provisional Government.” The four commissioners upon this retired to Ney's residence, where they ■■■ ■■ reply ■■■ the

Emperor of Russia promised to give, after consulting with the King of Prussia. Such was the night scene, intensely dramatic than any those imagined by the fancy of poets. Here all was real; while on the catastrophe hung the political state of France, and the lives of all who had already declared in favour of the Bourbons. The fact, too, teaches a high lesson, that all those who then first stood forward, at the peril of life, in their cause, have since fallen under a species of disgrace in the kingdom of the Bourbons.

On the departure of the marshals, we were anxious to know from Desolles, what had passed in the conference. Macdonald, we found, had defended a regency with much warmth. Among other expressions employed by him, I remember the following repeated:—"I am not authorized, in any manner, to treat of conditions for the Emperor: we have powers for the regency, the army, and France; but the Emperor has positively prohibited me from specifying any thing for himself personally." Alexander merely replied, "That does not surprise me." The marshal then resumed; spoke of the respect due to the military glory of France; strongly avowed the resolution of himself and his companions never to desert the family of a man who had so often led them to victory; and, finally, reminded Alexander, that he pledged himself not to impose any government upon France. General Desolles, who the marshal warmly declared in favour of the Bourbons, replied with equal animation to the arguments of the supporters of a regency; he represented to Alexander, that all those would find themselves compromised who had consented to act under the supposed protection of his pledge, repeated all the topics previously urged, and ended by expressing his conviction that a regency was only a Bonaparte in disguise. The general did not, however, conceal from us that Alexander, powerfully moved by the

hours, ■■■■ banished ■■■■ from ■■■■ Provisional Government

■■■■ hile, ■■■■ the day when his ■■■■
 ■■■■ Paris ■■■■ the proper time, Napoleon, ■■■■
 whether they would be permitted to ■■■■ the enemy's
 advanced posts, and resolved on marching ■■■■ Paris ■■■■
 ■■■■ of opposition, sent ■■■■ aide-de-camp ■■■■ Marmont,
 with an order instantly ■■■■ repair to Fontainebleau
 His impatience ■■■■ such, that not only would he ■■■■
 wait ■■■■ return of the first, but despatched a second,
 ■■■■ then ■■■■ third messenger. This rapid ■■■■ of
 expresses alarmed the generals commanding under
 Marmont, who had also, with him, given in their ■■■■
 heuon, and probably were ignorant of his having been
 freed from that engagement. They supposed that the
 Emperor had sent for the marshal in order to punish
 his defection severely, and, apprehensive of Napoleon's
 vengeance, resolved to march for Versailles. One of
 Marmont's aides-de-camp, after vainly opposing the
 removal of the troops, ■■■■ off in all haste to inform the
 marshal of what was taking place. When Marmont
 received this sad news, he was at breakfast in Ney's,
 with Macdonald and Caulaincourt, all four waiting
 Alexander's reply to their commission. The marshal
 threw himself into a carriage, and drove ■■■■ instantly.
 Meanwhile, ■■■■ arriving ■■■■ Versailles, ■■■■ not ■■■■
 the marshal at their head, the troops, believing them-
 selves betrayed, ■■■■ broken out into open insurrection.
 Such ■■■■ the state of ■■■■, when Marmont arrived
 at full speed from Paris. He ■■■■ met ■■■■ distance
 by his generals, who besought him ■■■■ ■■■■ approach
 the rebellious soldiery. "I will go," said he, "into
 the midst of them. ■■■■ moment I ■■■■ either ■■■■
 in pieces, or they ■■■■ acknowledge me ■■■■ their
 chief." Having sent forward an aide-de-camp ■■■■ draw
 up the regiment, he advanced alone ■■■■ horseback,
 ■■■■ addressed the soldiers. — "How 's there tr■■■■
 here? Can y■■■■ drown me? Am I no longer your
 comrade? — H■■■■ I not ■■■■ twenty ■■■■ wounded

among you? Have I not shared in all your fatigues—your privations—and am I not ready to do so again?" Here the speaker was interrupted by loud shouts—"The Marshal! the Marshal, for ever!" All returned to their duty. This was most important; for the insurrectionary movement, which, throughout the day, had filled the Provisional Government with the greatest alarm, might have spread to the other corps-d'armes, and the safety of France have again suffered. The firmness of Marmont saved all. I alone, knowing how the marshal was beloved by the soldiers, augured favourably of the result. Still we were in a most anxious state of alarm, and express after express kept hurrying to and fro between Paris and Versailles. The messenger from the Provisional Government informed Marmont of Alexander's definitive offer to treat for a regency. In return, our fears as to the troops were speedily allayed. Fifteen years have elapsed, yet I can still fancy myself present when the marshal arrived. M. de Talleyrand was on his way from Versailles. We had just finished dinner. I see Marmont alone, in the middle of the room, seated before a small table, upon which something had been served in haste. He was the hero of the day: each of us came up to talk with him, and pay our compliments.

Happy would he have proved for France, had the government listened also to a proposition made by him the same evening, namely, that no change should be made in the military ensigns. He was, in fact, determined to abandon the tricolor, which, for the space of twenty years, had led our soldiers to battle and victory. But some intrigue overtook the whole, and a provisional decree, drawn up that night, was sent to the office, but never appeared in the *Moniteur*. I knew not who meddled thus far; but of this I am certain, that Marmont complained of the non-insertion of Alexander, who promised to write the Provisional Government to have the omission

rectified, but in vain. Finally, Marmont himself was led into the error. Marshal Jourdan, then stationed at Rouen with his corps, received a letter, saying that the Emperor had mounted the white cockade, and, thinking he could not do better than follow such an example, displaced the tricolor, and made the change in the Provisional Government. Thus fortified, the members awaited the demonstration of the Duke of Ragusa with unflinching assurance. — "Why, marshal, the insertion of the article was impossible. There, the corps of Marshal Jourdan have hoisted the white—you would give two different standards to the army!" Marmont, of course, could gain say a positive fact. The subterfuge was a poor one.

Meanwhile, while these events were passing, Napoleon had become furious at what he termed the defection, as I afterwards learned, from several officers who were at Fontainebleau. This injustice was excusable, as he had not been informed of the marshal's resuming his pledge, in order the more affectually to second the Emperor's own commissioners.* Under the influence of this error, indignant at the conduct of the marshal in pronouncing his forfeiture, and full of hope in the success of the commission, Napoleon issued to his army, on the morning of the 5th of April, a proclamation touching on all these points, but evidently drawn up under the greatest irritation of mind. Of this can there be a more certain proof than the terms in which he characterizes his senate? "The senate has taken the liberty to dispose of the government of France; it has forgo that to the Emperor it owes the power, now abused; it has forgotten that the Emperor saved one portion of its members from the storms of the Revolution, and drew

* It must, however, be recollected, that a defection of the troops arose from the marshal having disobeyed Napoleon's injunctions not to leave his division.—Translator.

from obscurity and protected the other against hatred of the nation." a satire these words imply upon his own government! bitterest never uttered any thing than has here brought against himself.

those latter days of the empire, there were, in fact, to speak, three governments, of which two last were but phantoms,—the Provisional Government in Paris; Napoleon Fontainebleau; ambulatory dubious Regency of Mary Louisa. These epithets descriptive alike of the locality and the acts of the regency. At first, it had been proposed to conduct the Empress Orleans, then Tours, and last she stopped Blois. I have one piece, a circular to the prefects of departments, addressed by Montalivet, minister of the interior, and member of the regency, without name of printer or printing office, and with place Blois, and date April, inserted in writing; so unsettled being the destiny of the Empress, that uncertain whence or when the of her government might be promulgated. The moment, too, was well chosen, to call for and money, when the people beheld with joy end of conscriptions and contributions! When Louise was informed of the events in Paris, for the Duke de Cadore, (Champagne,) and, giving a letter for the Emperor of Austria, said to him, "Duke of Cadore, go my father, who be Dijon; I rely upon you to defend the interests of France, of the Emperor, and especially of my son." Unquestionably Empress could not have made a better choice; and those high interests would have been by the duke, *si defendi possent*,—had they been defensible. After the departure of her envoy, the Empress, the 4th, addressed a proclamation "To the French people," in which she said, "You will be to your oaths. You will listen to the voice of a princess who was confided to your loyalty; who places all her glory in being

princess ■ France, united to the destinies of the sovereign whom you had freely chosen. My ■ less secure of your hearts in the days of our prosperity. His rights and person are under your safeguard." This address, so full of feeling, produced no effect; and, though informed daily of ■ passed at Blois, we experienced ■ the slightest alarm ■ Paris ■ quarter. To the words marked in italics, ■ a circumstance which merits ■ recorded. When the piece had been printed, and shewn to Maria Louisa, ■ drew her pen through "was confided," and inserted *confides herself*. Unfortunate woman! ■ every thing to ■ the cause, and inspired with interest even those who, from ■ necessity, laboured against the imperial dynasty.

Her envoy, in the mean time, with some difficulty, and by ■ the routes of the Cossacks, had attained ■ destination. Understanding the Emperor Francis ■ expected ■ Chaneaux, he waited his arrival, and had an immediate audience; and though personally known to, and respected by, Francis, at whose court he had resided three years as ambassador, he ■ obtain nothing beyond ■ protestations, ■ a conference of some hours. The Emperor constantly intrenched ■ pledges given to his ■. Hoping ■ night would ■ milder resolves, the duke begged permission to ■ leave next morning, ■ presented himself, accordingly, at ■ imperial levee. After ■ efforts, ■ Emperor ■ him,—“I love my daughter very dearly; I love also my son-in-law; I wear them in my heart, and would shed ■ blood for them.”—“Ah, sire,” interrupted Champeigny, “no such sacrifice is required.”—“Yes, duke, I would give my blood—I would give my life for them; but I repeat to you, I have promised ■ my allies not to treat without them, and to approve all they may do. Besides, my minister, Metternich, is gone to their head-quarters, and ■ shall ratify whatever he may

have signed." In fact, Champagny told [] he regarded the absence of Metternich as [] to his [] to this I could not agree, though it is not too much to say, that, politics apart, Metternich [] very much attached to Bonaparte. The Emperor had constantly expressed great regard for the [] minister, and, particularly, during his embassy [] Paris, [] loaded him with attentions. As a proof of what [] now stated, when complimented [] the marriage of [] Louise, Metternich replied, "One may well receive felicitations, in having aided in [] which [] received [] approbation of eighty [] of men." Such a remark, openly proceeding from the confidential minister of the Austrian cabinet, [] calculated most agreeably to please the imperial [] Nevertheless, in their personal relations, Metternich never concealed the truth from Napoleon. I remember an instance, in part of a reply made to him, after [] hesitation, at Dresden. "As for you," said the Emperor, "you will not make [] upon me; that is impossible: no, you cannot declare against [] ;—I will not believe it."—"Sire," replied Metternich, "[] present we are not altogether allies; but a little while, and it is very possible we may [] enemies." This [] the last information Napoleon [] received from Metternich. It [] clear [] not wilfully blind. On rejoining the Empress [] Orleans, Champagny found her almost alone; all the grand dignitaries of the empire [] deserted their charge, successively returned to Paris, [] given in their adhesion [] the Provisional Government.

Thus [] the commission of the Empress. To revert [] that of the Emperor: When Marmont [] quitted [] companions, as above related, Macdonald, Ney, and Caulaincourt returned, in [] haste, [] the Emperor Alexander, in order to obtain the [] determination, before the movement among Marmont's troops should be known. Alexander [] on foot [] the King of Prussia's residence, [] o'clock

on the morning of the 5th, and the two monarchs, having returned to the Talleyrand, there together when the marshals entered. The then informed, that a regency was impossible. "Such, gentlemen," Alexander "is the conclusion I have come to, jointly with my allies. Three days ago, Paris declared itself, adhesions have poured in from all quarters. The army have formed other wishes, we ought at least to have informed sooner"—"Sire," objected Macdonald, "it is impossible, among not one of the marshals in Paris. Who could have foretold the which affairs have taken? Could we foresee that a misunderstanding—a panic terror would have caused the movement among the troops of the Duke of Ragusa, who this hour left us to recall them their duty?" These words having wrought a change in the determination of the sovereigns, it became necessary to prepare for a full and unconditional abdication in the part of Napoleon. Before entering upon this grave question, the marshal demanded an armistice of forty-eight hours, indispensable for the arrangements. This was granted without hesitation. Alexander had even the politeness to offer his pencil. Macdonald, and, pointing to the map of the Paris, said, "Hold, marshal, mark yourself of the two armies"—"No, sire, we are unfortunate, we are vanquished, it belongs to you to draw the line of demarkation." The Emperor then fixed the boundaries of the Seine, the right bank being occupied by the allies, the left by the French. Disputes arising with respect to Paris, which would have been unseemly to divide in two, the capital excluded from this delimitation. By some underhand contrivance, on the map sent to the head-quarters of Schwarzenberg, Fontainebleau, the head-quarters of the Emperor, was within the line, and kept close by this disposition,

Marshal Macdonald was forced to complain to Alexander, who removed the difficulties.

On dismissing these preliminaries, Napoleon, having again instructions received, having again Napoleon stipulated nothing personally, "Assure him," replied Alexander, "that, as concerns himself, he will have a provision worthy of the rank he has occupied; tell him, in sincerity, that, should he wish to my dominions, he shall well received, though he carried desolation the midst of them,—that I shall remember friendship which united us. We have the Elba, something else."

Having taken leave of the Emperor, the commissioners prepared to return to Fontainebleau. The same day, the 5th of April, I saw Alexander,—who appeared as if relieved of a weight by thus definitively settling the question of a regency,—and learned that he intended to quit some days, delegating powers M. Posso di Borgo, commissioner to the Provisional Government. The 5th, also, Napoleon, for the last time, reviewed his troops in the court of Fontainebleau; he remarked a degree of coldness in the officers, and among the men, who, two days before, manifested such enthusiasm. This change so him, that he only a few minutes on parade; and, retiring afterwards to his apartments, saw his army no more till the day of his departure.

An hour after midnight, on the morning of the 6th, Ney and Macdonald, with Caulaincourt, arrived at Fontainebleau, to render an account of their mission. Ney announced to Bonaparte the sovereigns required a simple abdication, condition, beyond the personal safety. The other commissioners the same purpose, but after a more gentle fashion, for Ney was little versed in the courtesies of speech. When Macdonald had ceased speaking, Napoleon replied, with some emotion, "I know, marshal, all you have done

Tell me—with what warrent you have pleaded the cause of my country. They desire a simple, unconditional abdication! Well, I again empower you to act on my behalf. Go defend my interests, and those of my family." After a moment of silence, " Marshal, where shall I go?" Macdonald then reported Alexander's offers to the Emperor. " The island of Elba, or something else?" quickly interrupted Napoleon. " What is that something else?"—" Sir, I know not."—" Ah! doubtless it is the island of Corsica, which he has declined naming, to avoid the quodlibet. Marshal, I refer every thing to you."

Thus passed the interview; not, indeed, without some outbursts at first, but far more smoothly than expected. The marshals returned to Paris, after receiving new powers from Napoleon. On arriving, however, in the capital, Ney gave in his adhesion, so that Macdonald returned alone to Fontainebleau, where Caulaincourt had remained. The Emperor expressed surprise and disappointment, when informed of Ney's absence; but the friends of that renowned soldier concurred in admitting his want of moral courage, when not on the field of battle. I was not, therefore, surprised at his coming over to us, like some others of his comrades. As to Macdonald, he shewed himself one of those generous spirits whom fortune renders only the more faithful. Napoleon had now proof of this. Macdonald, returning thus to Fontainebleau, found the Emperor, entering his chamber, seated in a small arm-chair before the fireplace. Napoleon wore no other clothing save a dressing gown of white dimity; his naked feet were thrust into slippers; his elbows rested on his knees, his head was supported with both hands. He remained motionless, and seemed buried in profound thought. Two persons only were near him,—the Duke of Bassano at a little distance, and Caulaincourt near the fireplace. The Emperor's reflections appeared so completely to have absorbed him, that he

perceive Macdonald's entrance, and the
 Vicenza was obliged to advertise of
 present. "Sire, the Duke of Tarentum has brought
 for your signature the treaty which ratified
 to-morrow." Then, as if rousing from a sort of
 lethargic slumber, he turned towards the place where
 Macdonald stood, and merely said,—“Ah! Marshal,
 is it you?” altered Napoleon's countenance,
 that the marshal, struck with the change, could
 help exclaiming, under first impression,—“Sire!
 surely your majesty has indisposed?”—“Yes,
 I have passed a very night.” In fact, during
 the night which preceded the of Macdonald,
 Napoleon, it has been asserted, made attempt
 his life by poison. But, I know nothing for
 certain this subject, and wish to speak of what I
 can guarantee, I shall abstain from hazarding any
 conjectures a matter of such grave importance,
 decidedly contradicted by Napoleon himself. The
 person who can remove the doubts this subject
 is Constant, who, I have been assured, quitted
 Napoleon during that night.*

The Emperor remained seated for instant; then
 rising, he took the treaty from the marshal's hand,
 signed without observation, and, restoring it, with
 the signature affixed, said, “I am not rich enough to
 recompense these your last services.”—“You know,
 sire, interest guided me.”—“I am of

* Constant was favourite valet de chambre to the Emperor.
 is about publish private memoirs his imperial
 Meanwhile I can state, upon almost the highest authority, that
 accusation is false; that the workings Napoleon's mind
 occasioned frequently, during the night, a species of mental
 aberration, and convulsive throwings the body; attempted
 suicide let his memory availed. — Translator.

the first edition was published, Constant's work
 been sent me. His narrative not yet reached the point in
 question; but from the tenor of volumes that have appeared,
 he will be found a witness in favour of the opinion above
 expressed. — Translator.

that; I see how much I have been deceived respecting you. I can perceive, too, the designs of those who prejudiced me against you—"Bire, I have already assured you, that, since 1809, I have been yours in life and death"—"It is true, but since I have no longer the power to [] you [] I would wish, let me request, that a token of [] brance, very inadequate indeed, may at least remind you, that never shall I forget what you have done for me." Then turning [] Caulaincourt, Napoleon said, "Vicenza, desire my sabre to be brought—the [] presented to me by Mouad Bey in Egypt, [] which I [] the battle of Mount Tabor." Constant having brought the sabre, the Emperor received it from Caulaincourt, and, presenting it to the marshal, said, "Accept, my worthy friend, a gift which I believe will gratify you." The marshal, taking the sword from the Emperor's hand, replied, "Bire, it ever I live [] you, this will [] his noblest heritage, [] while I live it shall be preserved"—"Give [] your hand, and embrace me," [] Napoleon's answer, and with equal emotion they threw themselves into each other's arms, and parted—not without tears.

Thus terminated the last interview between [] Emperor and his faithful soldier. These details I obtained from the marshal some days after the ratification of the treaty. The sabre I recognized [] once, only, [] I had last seen it, the following words had been engraven [] blade.—"Sabre worn by the Emperor [] the day of the battle of Mount Tabor." [] to me to furnish [] proof [] the genuine character of Napoleon, and of [] desire to antedate the duration of the empire, which he thus referred [] a period when he [] only general of the Republic. [] five days [] these [] dents, [] the 11th April, 1814, when the [] the treaty [] been guaranteed, did Napoleon sign his final act of abdication as follows:—

"The allied powers, having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon is the sole obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares, that he [redacted] for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, even life itself, which he is not ready [redacted] make for the interest of France."^a

Then only, when Bonaparte had written with his own hand, and signed, the act now quoted, did Marshal Macdonald send in his adhesion, expressed with equal nobleness and simplicity:—"Disengaged from my oaths by the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon, I declare that I adhere to the acts of the Senate and of the Provisional Government."

Thus terminated the legal reign of Napoleon. It is worthy of remark, that this act of abdication appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 12th of April, the day precisely on which *Monseigneur* (the Count d'Artois) made his entry into Paris as lieutenant-general of the kingdom for Louis XVIII; the day, too, in which was achieved, under the walls of Toulouse, the last grand deed in arms of the imperial army, when the French

^a The transactions above related took place in a small but very elegant suite of apartment, running parallel with the gallery of Francis I. When the translator first visited this most delightful of the royal residences of France, the yellow sofa in the window, and the small arm-chair, were still in their places, and, on a small folding work table, belonging to the Empress, upon which the first abdication was written, still remained the writing implements used in renouncing so much of worldly grandeur. The ink had never been replenished, and was then dried up into a little dust, as is now the hand which then signed away thrones. At a little distance, in sight of the windows, is Bonaparte's favourite walk along the singular and beautiful rill, which, gushing into light, clear [redacted] blue as the skies overhead, [redacted] name to the "Chateau of the Blue Fountain." A member of the "old guard," whose scars showed he were no idle decoration in the cross of the legion of honour, wept as he pointed out these things to my notice.—Translator.

troops, commanded by Soult, made Wellington deeply for his entrance into the south of France.

His abdication of Napoleon awakened in my mind two very opposite sentiments. While sincerely felicitating myself and my country on beholding the termination of an oppressive government, I could not be insensible to the sufferings of Bonaparte, and never more than in the interval between the man and the emperor. Ah! had that man been so inclined,—had he placed limits to his ambition,—if his furious passion for European dominion had not dragged him into an abyss unfathomable,—if he had consecrated to the happiness of France that superabundance of genius which he devoted to the enslaving of nations,—if he had cast beneath his feet the rights of Frenchmen, and constantly substituted his own arbitrary will for those rights,—if, at least, after usurping power, he had vowed himself to the strengthening of internal order, he would unquestionably, in his own name, have preserved a throne which so many victories, and such mighty enterprises, had clothed with splendour! If then, his name might have echoed with less of imposing sound to distant posterity, with how many benedictions would that name have been saluted by contemporary generations! Had the evil spirit of ambition within him been subdued, and he accomplished his destiny. How profitable subjects for meditation in the fate of Napoleon so accomplished and so strong! What a lesson is read in that fate to kings who hereafter dare, from his example, to believe in the possibility of contemning the rights of their people!

The Count d'Artois, as already noticed, had entered French territory on the 21st February, and, seeing the favourable circumstances were taking, repaired, on the 16th March, to Nancy, where he awaited the issue of events. The determination of the allied sovereigns encouraged the Provisional

to request his presence in the capital, as a source of vigour to the cause. The Abbe Montesquieu wrote; Rochefoucauld carried the letter, and, on the 11th of April, the prince reached the country house of Madame Charles de Damas, where he remained for the night. News of his arrival spread like lightning, and every one prepared to solemnise his entrance into the capital. His race, the national guard, formed a double line from the barrier of Bondy to Notre Dame, for, to the Cathedral, according to an ancient usage, little observed for twenty years, the procession first to advance. In the same time, the Provisional Government, with Talleyrand as president, went to meet him beyond the Barrier. In answer to a harangue by the former, the latter made the reply, which, promising much, promptly became current in Paris,—“Nothing is changed in France—there is only one more.” The prince then mounted on horseback, his cortege moved forward. I witnessed the whole from a particular station, more anxious to observe the aspect of the men and of the times than to be an actor. Near me stood an old knight of St Louis, weeping for joy. The distant approach of the cavalcade was announced by the national guard of Henri IV, long unheard in our streets. The open countenance of Monsieur, whom I had never seen before, delighted me, and seemed to inspire the confidence which it expressed. He wore the uniform of the national guard, but he appeared most brilliant, considering no preparation had been made. I must, however, confess, the enthusiasm was confined to the cavalcade itself, it appeared elsewhere only among the upper classes. The people seemed to look on with curiosity and wonder, but any other emotion I must here add, in the same spirit of truth, my expression of painful surprise, on seeing a troop of Cossacks bringing the prince, this was to be deemed the more inexplicable, as I was informed that

of Alexander's intention of, permitting no foreign troops appear. Admirable order, too, reigned throughout Paris, though seasons of change are commonly times of disturbance. This owing to the services of the national guard, chiefly the strict discipline maintained, especially by General Sacken, in the allied army. Certainly, therefore, the *Frenchman* should, on that day, be surrounded only by Frenchmen.

Two days previously had been witnessed a spectacle, which, though infinitely less French, had been much talked of, namely, the religious ceremony according to the Greek Church, which the allied sovereigns and troops attended in the square of Louis XV. Almost in the centre of this place was erected an altar, of a square form, and lofty proportions. Along the boulevard were posted, on opposite sides, the national guard and the allied army. All the avenues leading to the square were guarded so closely, that no one, on foot, could penetrate within the space. As I had a window in one of the public buildings overlooking the square, at my disposal, I took my station there in the morning, though my eyes were not for pompous ceremonies more than most assuredly not more vivacious than in times past. Here, standing four hours, I had the pleasure, at midday, of seeing half-dozen Greek priests, with long beards, enter the enclosure, and solemnly advance to the altar. These were, of course, in full panoply and looked quite as richly dight as high priests of the opera. After this first ceremony, an entr'acte of three quarters of an hour had to be endured, when at length the infantry, followed by the cavalry, marched, and in a few minutes the whole square appeared covered with uniforms. Last of all, all the sovereigns made entrance, followed by a brilliant staff. They alighted, and advanced to the altar on foot. What struck me was the profound silence among such an assemblage of men

during the time of divine service; one would have imagined, from the motionless stillness of the symmetrical multitude, that he had under his eye an ably painted panorama, rather than a mass of living ■■■■. For my own part, that which pleased me most in ■■■■ ceremony, imposing as it might be, was to see it concluded. I may just mention, *en passant*, that I cannot think foreign uniforms at all equal to our own; we find in them something fantastic, and sometimes even grotesque. Besides, how is it possible for a soldier to have a military air when laced like a woman, and cut in two like a wasp?

After an interval of only two days from the arrival of a Bourbon, Paris witnessed another public entry,—that of Francis II. This monarch was much disliked by the Parisians; in truth, he was the object of an almost general reprobation. Even among those who, from her connection with ■■■■aparte, ardently wished the dethronement of ■■■■ daughter, there were many who ■■■■ be reconciled to the conduct of the father towards the dynasty, with which, in 1808, he had sought an alliance as his only safeguard. Misfortune has ever sacred claims in France, and Maria Louisa, now abandoned, had more friends than in the season of her greatest splendour. So judged the people instinctively. Each knew what it was to be a parent, and had the happiness not to know what it is to be a king. The entry of Francis, on the 15th, though surrounded with all the splendour of military procession, was a cold affair. The three sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, met at the barrier on horseback, followed by the same troops as on their ■■■■ entrance, and traversed Paris, but without ■■■■ same acclamations. This new exhibition of the allied forces ■■■■ the capital was in bad taste. ■■■■ French prince resided in ■■■■ Tuileries; ■■■■ what fifteen days before had seemed an act of deliverance, now appeared a display of arrogant pride.

Francis had not seen his daughter since ■■■■ had

left Vienna to write hers with the fate of the master
 the half of Europe. She, on her part, had, her
 misfortunes, still looked to her. Of these
 I have been assured those who were well informed.
 While sending away Campagny on the mission noticed
 above, she said, to encourage him, "Even if it
 the intention of the allied sovereigns the
 the Emperor Napoleon, my father will suffer it;
 twenty times he repeat, when placing the
 throne of France, that there he would always sup-
 port me; and my father is a man of honour." I
 know also that the Empress never ceased to regret
 having left France by the advice of the regency. On
 this point any blame must rest only upon Joseph
 the obedience with which Napoleon had habi-
 tuated his councillors to defer to his pleasure.
 the destinies of Maria Louisa were accomplished.
 Deprived of all hope, she was preparing to quit
 Rambouillet—whither she had come from Orleans
 —and to return to Austria with her son, without
 having obtained permission to see Napoleon
 more, as she had often entreated. Napoleon himself
 had have appreciated the painfulness attaching
 to such a farewell, otherwise he would have expressly
 stipulated a last interview as one of the conditions
 of the treaty of abdication. I learned, at the time,
 that the motive which prevented compliance with the
 wish of Maria Louisa, was an apprehension lest she
 should form some sudden resolution of accompanying
 Napoleon to the island of Elba; and the Emperor of
 Austria wished to get back his daughter.

At this moment, it was not one of the least remark-
 able occurrences of these last times—so frightful in
 ordinary events for the sovereigns of Europe—that
 the dethroned family and the princes in
 exile to succeed them were all concentrated within a
 circuit of forty miles from the capital of France. A
 was in the Tuileries—Napoleon at Fon-
 tainebleau—his son at Rambouillet—the

repudiated Empress only three leagues distant—the Emperors of Russia and Austria, with the King of Prussia, in Paris itself. All this appeared marvellous, that, only years before, would have pronounced impossible within any recorded time.

When Francis set out to his daughter Rambouillet, appeared also not a little extraordinary. Alexander should of the party. The two emperors, however, were not quite together; preceded by a short interval, and, consequently, arrived first. The following particulars I give on good authority:—Maria Louisa received her father with respect, and, at the same time, with affection; she shewed herself happy in meeting him again, the tears that streamed from her eyes were not all tears of joy. After the first effusion of filial tenderness, she complained of the condition to which she reduced. Her father, much moved, had yet no consolation to bestow, her sorrows were irremediable. Meanwhile time elapsed; Alexander at hand, and the Emperor was forced to the expected visitor. The first revolution of the ex-Empress was a refusal, in which she long persisted, saying her father, “he make he a prisoner before your eyes? he enter here by force, I retire to my chamber; thither, I suppose, will not dare to follow in your presence.” Already the sound of Alexander’s equipages echoed through the courts of Rambouillet; as time pressed, Francis became more urgent in his entreaties; daughter last yielded; and the Emperor of Austria himself imperial ally, and conducted him into saloon, where deference her detained Louisa. deference, however, could not carry her the length of vouchsafing a cordial reception to the man whom she regarded as the of all her misfortunes. received with great coldness the personal and protestations

of ■■■ Emperor of all the Russias, giving for answer, that ■■■ had only one wish to form,—the liberty ■■ returning ■■ the bosom of her family. Accordingly, a few days after this painful visit, Maria Louisa, with her ■■■ departed for Vienna; nor ■■■ her resignation without dignity.

CHAPTER VIII

BLUCHER — BERTHIER, CLARKE, AND THE AUTHOR,
 WITH THE KING OF PRUSSIA — BERNADOTTE — HIS
 DEPARTURE EXPLAINED — THE SIEGE OF THE FORTS
 ITALY, EUGENE, DANZIG, RUSS — THE ALLIES —
 NAPOLEON'S RECEPTION — DELAYS — COMPLAINTS
 — FAREWELL TO HIS SOLDIERS — THE DEPARTURE
 OF WELLINGTON AND THE ENGLISH —
 IMPERIAL TREASURY — ANECDOTES OF THE DISPO-
 SITION AND ADVENTURES OF NAPOLEON, DURING
 THE JOURNEY — IN CALADE — FALLING — THE

Of the illustrious persons of that period in Paris, I had an interview with Blucher, on the 2d of April; to the King of Prussia I was introduced some days after; and Bernadotte I saw frequently. "Sir," said Blucher, on entering my cabinet in the post-office, "I deemed it one of my first duties in Paris, to offer my thanks for your services at Hamburg. I can assure you, had I known of your being in Paris, the capitulation might have been obtained without bloodshed." I requested the marshal to explain: "Mon Dieu! had I been informed of your being here, I would have sent to beg you to come and see me; I would have given you a letter to the King of Prussia, who, I am sure, would have afforded you the means of procuring from the allies a suspension of arms, before the environs of Paris had become the theatre of war." I represented the susceptibilities of French character, and the disgrace of delivering

up the capital without a struggle. "But, bon Dieu! we would have proved to you [redacted] could avail nothing, you [redacted] do with masses"—"In my opinion, general, you are right, but, [redacted] the French, honour [redacted] every thing"—"I grant you," [redacted] Blucher, "but have you [redacted] enough [redacted] honour?" You [redacted] us, too," [redacted] he, smiling, "notwithstanding [redacted] forbearance, northern barbarians!"—"Why, then, general," replied I, [redacted] tone, "the present [redacted] excellent opportunity [redacted] prove that [redacted] designation is a calumny." For this [redacted] nothing belied these good intentions, but things were changed [redacted] the following year, when I found Blucher—my Hamburg prisoner—in head-quarters [redacted] St Cloud, installed in the very cabinet where I had so often worked with Napoleon, and wherein [redacted] many and vast schemes [redacted] been meditated! What a lesson on the frailty of human greatness!

At the private audience, to which [redacted] afterwards I had the honour of being admitted by his Prussian Majesty, Berthier and Clarke were also presented. We had been some minutes in the saloon, when Frederick William entered from his closet. I remarked [redacted] his countenance [redacted] embarrassment, and [redacted] certain [redacted] severity, which made me think he had just been studying his part,—a grand personage [redacted] went [redacted] similar occasions. Berthier [redacted] placed nearest, whom the King addressed with nobleness and [redacted] emotion.—"Marshal, I should have preferred receiving you [redacted] peaceful traveller [redacted] Berlin, [redacted] accepting this visit here, but war has [redacted] successes [redacted] well [redacted] reverses. Your troops [redacted] brave, and ably commanded, but you could not oppose numbers. Europe is armed against the Emperor [redacted] patience has [redacted] limits. Marshal, you have passed [redacted] little [redacted] making [redacted] Germany, I have pleasure in saying [redacted] you [redacted] [redacted] never forget your conduct, your justice, [redacted] moderation, in those [redacted] of misfortune."

Berthier was not undeserving of this eulogium ; for, though devoid of high talent, with a weak character, and some follies, ■ was not a bad man. After receiving the salutations of Berthier, the King of Prussia, turned towards Clarke, with symptoms of marked displeasure. " As for you, general, I cannot say the same of your conduct as of the marshal's. The inhabitants of Berlin will long remember your government. You abused victory strangely, and carried to extreme measures of rigour and vexation. If I have an advice to give you, it is, never to shew your face in Prussia." It pained me much to hear the King thus address, before two witnesses, a man, with whom, indeed, I had never sought to establish intimate relations, but with whom I had been in habits of intercourse on public affairs, ■ who, though weak by nature, and a flatterer through his weakness, ■ as a private individual, an excellent person. Now for my portrait, thought I ; for the King, who spoke these words in a strong and angry voice, turning away abruptly from Clarke, did not seem even to hear the few unintelligible words attempted in reply, and then accosted me :— " Ah, M. de Bourrienne ! (in a tone quite *piano*, as the Italians say,) I am very glad to see you ; and profit, by this opportunity, to repeat all I wrote from Königsberg. It is with pleasure I say to you, before these two gentlemen, that if all the French agents had thought and acted as you did, we should not probably have been here." I expressed my sense of so ■liging ■ compliment by a profound reverence, and the King, having again saluted me, retired. Clarke was so ■helled by this reception from a crowned head, that Berthier and myself, each taking an arm, were obliged absolutely to support him down the grand stair.

Bernadotte ■ came to Paris a few days after the arrival of the Count d'Artois. ■ situation was a

disagreeable one; since, through [redacted] of circumstances, the conference at Abo had become fruitless; and because certain writers did not spare [redacted] represent him as a traitor to his country. Opposite the hotel which he had retained at Paris for [redacted] habitation of [redacted] princess his wife, cries might be heard,—“Down with the traitor! down with the perjurer!” These threats, however, the effects of a spirit of petty revenge, evaporated in words; but, added to other things, [redacted] disgust Bernadotte with Paris, notwithstanding the constant friendship manifested by Alexander; and he set out for Sweden in a few days. During the period of his brief sojourn, I [redacted] the Prince-Royal daily, and, in testimony of [redacted] friendship, received one of the few orders of the Polar [redacted] placed [redacted] [redacted] disposal by the Swedish government. At first, he feebly denied all views on the [redacted] power in France; but subsequently, [redacted] confidential intercourse resuming its wonted character, he [redacted] affirmed me positively in [redacted] I have stated relative [redacted] the interview, and promises of Alexander, [redacted] Abo. I inquired also of Bernadotte, what he thought of the designs attributed [redacted] Moreau, [redacted] whether [redacted] would have [redacted] him [redacted] competitor in aspiring [redacted] dangerous honour of governing France. [redacted] assured me to the contrary; at least, that, in all his conversations, [redacted] Emperor of Russia had [redacted] mentioned Moreau, [redacted] [redacted] one, of whose military talents [redacted] was desirous [redacted] avail himself in the impending struggle. Bernadotte, too, expressed his surprise [redacted] recall of [redacted] Bourbons, assuring me, that he could [redacted] have supposed [redacted] French nation would yield [redacted] and so readily to receive them back. I, on my part, [redacted] equal surprise, that, with [redacted] experience, Bernadotte should have been simple enough to believe that the people go for something in the changes of govern-

Bernadotte returned also in 1815; but, as I shall

not again have occasion to speak of him, I may just state one fact, the authenticity of which I guarantee: When the Duke of Cadore, as minister for foreign affairs, announced to Napoleon the election of the Prince to the second grade of royalty in Sweden, the Emperor remarked,—“ Ah, hah! they have fixed upon him? it is well—quite right: they could have made a better choice: I shall not stand in the way of his good fortune. He must not go away empty-handed—let him have two millions.” An unforeseen circumstance, however, quickly interrupted this good understanding. The Crown Prince deemed his new title incompatible with that of *Ponte Corvo*; Napoleon, who aspired to have the kings of Europe dignitaries of his crown, took this, in my opinion, well-founded scruple, in high dudgeon, and, calling M. de Champagny,—“ What is all this about?” said he, with irritation; “ what does Bernadotte want? What is his fuss about his being a Swede—constantly a Swede? How many are there of these Swedes? I wish to have done with him, and to hear nothing of them. de Champagny, you will write him the effect.” Two days afterward, the Emperor asked the minister if he had written? “ Yes, sire.”—“ But have you written fully, as I desired?”—“ I believe so, sire.”—“ Well, let me see the despatch.” This was a demand which he almost never made. “ This is not the thing,” said he, sharply; “ it is too soft: I said to you, that I desired and the affair, and he be so troubled with these two millions of Swedes.” There can be little doubt, from this intimation, the weight in determining Bernadotte’s conduct, from the campaign of Moscow to the battle of Paris.

If we cast a parting glance on the wreck of the empire abroad, at the period when its end had been accomplished in France, we find Italy still occupied by an army of nearly thirty thousand men, commanded

by Eugene. Could Bonaparte have transported his brave devoted followers to the Alps, immediately after the fall of Paris, he might have effected a powerful diversion on the side of Austria. But, the 6th of April, Eugene, being certainly informed of irreparable disasters in France, signed, with the Austrian commander, a convention, which, ratified on the 10th, permitted the French troops to remain within the limits of old France, taking leave of an army which he had miraculously saved, still numbering twenty-one thousand infantry, and more than five thousand cavalry. Eugene addressed his soldiers in a farewell proclamation, dated from Mantua, where he had been his head-quarters since the month of February (Mantua! how many recollections—glorious once and painful—must that name have recalled. The first of that before the battle of Austerlitz. Bonaparte had been the first feat of arms which the youthful Beauharnais had witnessed, and now, in the same place, he was to bid adieu for ever to the army of France, when, nearest to their imperial leader, he had become the second among its chiefs!) "Soldiers! lengthened misfortunes have weighed upon our country. France, seeking a remedy for her woes, has returned beneath her shield. Her feeling of all her sufferings is already appeased, in the hope of a repose necessary after so much agitation. Soldiers! you are about to revisit your homes, it would have proved indeed gratifying to me to have conducted you thither. But, in separating from you, there remain for me other duties to fulfil towards the people of Italy." Upon this, the generals and officers under his command earnestly entreated Eugene, whom they all sincerely loved and esteemed, to lead them person to the king. But the prince, either overrating his duties to the Italians, or cherishing hopes that the son-in-law of Bavaria might establish an independent

sovereignty beyond the Alps, resolved the decision of the allies in the kingdom where he had presided as viceroy. In fact he attempted the senate of Milan, whose members well disposed in favour, induce body solicit from allies his continuance government of Italy. entertained the family of Napoleon was from being increased by the agent employed. had incurred the hatred and contempt of the Milanese, who heard him only to testify their displeasure. In truth, the army had not made three marches from quarters Mantua, when a revolt out at Milan. The minister of finance, Prina, assassinated, and nothing could have saved the viceroy from the same danger, had been in the capital; so highly exasperated were Italians, always ready to shew courage when there is no longer danger, and whose whole patriotism evaporates in being Austrians under a French yoke, Frenchmen under dominion of Austria. general effervescence, friends considered viceroy as fortunate having been able, almost incognito, to join his father-in-law at Munich. At the same time, Grenier, second in command, conducted the French army across the Alps: and thus, after nine years' existence, the kingdom of the Iron Crown.*

In Germany, we still retained two important points, Dantzic Hamburg. the former, my friend Rapp commanded. sustaining a year's siege, he found constrained to gates, and

* In the midst of our greatest distress, the senate of Milan had despatched a deputation to felicitate *Napoleon the Great*, on having triumphed over all enemies. By the way, the members of deputation heard of the siege of Paris. Nathless these worthies pursued their journey, arrived in the French capital, and offered felicitations to—when—the allies, on the fall of the tyrant!—*Author.*

deliver up a city which he had defended to the last extremity, and yielded only when his post had become a heap of ashes. Rapp had stipulated that the garrison should be sent into France, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, who commanded the siege, had granted this condition; but, the Emperor of Russia refusing the ratification, Rapp, now destitute of all means of defence, was made prisoner, and, with his army, marched to Kiow. Of the siege of Hamburg, I have already spoken. Early in April, General Beningsen, commanding before the place, informed of the Emperor's fall, hastened to notify the state of things to Davoust, in order to spare the farther effusion of blood. The latter affected to discredit a report which cut short all his prospects of greatness, and even fired at the white flag hoisted in the allied lines, as a signal that the Bourbons reigned. But, finally, having harangued his troops, told them of Napoleon's forfeiture, and urged them to mount the white cockade, he gave in his adhesion to the Provisional Government. The officers and soldiers collected their honourably gathered wealth, converting it into diamonds and other commodities of small bulk and great value. In May, General Gerard arrived, with orders to take the command, and, towards the end of the same month, the inhabitants beheld, with inexpressible joy, the French troops march into the city, though bearers of much of their property, leaving them the remembrance of a government which will be handed down with execration from one generation to another. Beyond the city walls, the various nations composing the garrison corps separated, according to the convention of Soult,—French, Dutch, Italians, Poles, pursuing their respective routes, never, probably, to be united under the same banner,—vain emblem of conquests and of glory that had for ever passed away!

Meanwhile the fallen chief, who had been the soul

of the mighty system whose last fragments were thus discovered, remained still at Fontainebleau. The period of departure was at hand. The 17th April had been fixed as the day which he should set journey for the of Napoleon, having agreed to the arrangements in this respect, demanded to be accompanied to the place of embarkation by a commissioner from each of the allied powers. Count Schuwaloff was sent on the part of Alexander; Colonel Sir Neil Campbell represented England; Kohler chosen by Austria; and Count Waldbourg-Fruchas appeared for Prussia. These four commissioners arrived, for the time, Fontainebleau, on the 16th, and next day had separately an audience of the Emperor, who retained always with him Generals Drouot Bertrand.

Although in this audience the Emperor received with great coldness the commissioners, whose presence himself requested, considerable difference might be remarked in their respective receptions. Colonel Campbell experienced the most gracious treatment; and, as he bore the traces of wounds, Napoleon asked in what actions he had fought, and upon what occasions he had been decorated with the orders which he had received. Having afterwards inquired concerning the place of his birth, and the country he was replying that he was a Scotsman, the Emperor gratulated him as being the countryman of Ossian, his favourite author, whose poems he praised highly, though (I know something of the matter) acquainted with them only through the medium of poor enough translations. In the audience, he said to the colonel, "I have cordially hated the English; I have made war against you by all possible means but I love your nation. I am convinced there is more generosity in your government than in any other. I should like to make passage from Toulon to Elba on an English frigate." Austrian

■■■ ■■■■ commissioners ■■■ received ■■■ indifference, but without ■■■ marked displeasure. ■■■ so ■■■ Prussian envoy. ■■■ two former Napoleon had retained about five minutes; the latter he ■■■ missed in a harsh manner. "Are there Prussians in ■■■ escort?"—"No, sire."—"Why, then, give yourself the trouble of accompanying ■■■?"—"Sire, it is no trouble but an honour."—"These are words of ■■■. You can have ■■■ business here."—"Sire, it is impossible for me ■■■ omit discharging the honourable mission wherewith I have been intrusted by ■■■ king, my master." At these ■■■ Napoleon turned ■■■ back upon Baron Fruches.

The commissioners supposed that Napoleon ■■■ start no difficulties, and depart without delay. But it was ■■■ so. Having required to see ■■■ copy of the route they ■■■ to follow, he objected to the arrangement, either through caprice, ■■■ from ■■■ desire ■■■ prolong the time. It was singular that the ■■■ marked out was exactly ■■■ which he had himself proposed to take, from Toulon to Paris, on returning from Egypt; while the road he ■■■ pretended to prefer ■■■ the ■■■ for which, as the reader will recollect, he changed ■■■ original intention, and ■■■ caused Josephine ■■■ miss ■■■ Again, by ■■■ singularity ■■■ less remarkable, the route through Burgundy, as now traced by the allies, was that by which, in the following year, Napoleon marched to Paris, from ■■■ exile. But, to leave these curious, perhaps trivial, coincidences, ■■■ commissioners, unwilling to oppose Napoleon, whom they had orders to treat with every deference, yet without ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ the change required, postponed ■■■ departure, wrote to their respective principals, and, on the night between the ■■■th ■■■ 19th, received authority ■■■ travel by such route ■■■ ■■■ Emperor might prefer, when ■■■ departure ■■■ definitively ■■■ ■■■ 20th of April.

On that day, by six in the morning, the carriages were in readiness, and the imperial guard drawn up in the grand court of the palace of Fontainebleau, called the court of the "White Horse." The whole population of the city, and adjacent villages, had assembled round the palace. Napoleon for General Kohler. "I have reflected," said the Emperor to the envoy, "upon what remains for me to do, and have taken my resolution to depart. The allies are not faithful to their engagements; I can, therefore, recall my abdication, which was merely conditional. More than a thousand addresses were presented to me last night, conjuring me to resume the reins of government. I renounced all my rights to the crown, only in order to spare France the horrors of a civil war, never having any other object in view than the glory and happiness of the country; but, now of the discontent inspired by the measures of the new government; seeing in what manner they have fulfilled the promises made to me, — I can explain to my guard the reasons which have induced me to revoke my abdication, and shall see if they can seduce from me the hearts of my veteran soldiers. It is true the number of troops upon whom I can reckon will not exceed thirty thousand; but it will be an easy matter for me to raise them to one hundred and thirty thousand. Know, also, that I can, quite as easily, without compromising my honour, say to my guard, that, considering only the repose and happiness of France, *I renounce all my rights*, and expect my soldiers, like myself, to support the will of the nation." These words, which I report from the general's own mouth, threw Kohler into great embarrassment. I remember, also, to have told him at the time, that, had Bonaparte, at the moment of the campaign of Paris, renounced his rights, and descended to the rank of a citizen, the masses of the allies must have sunk under

the efforts of France. Kohler stated, also, that the Emperor complained of Maria Louisa not having been permitted to accompany him to Elba; but finally added, "Well! I shall still remain my promise: but, new causes of complaint are given, I shall consider myself freed from all engagements."

Time, meanwhile, wore away. At eleven o'clock, one of the Emperor's aides-de-camp, name I have forgotten,* entered to say, that the grand seneschal had desired him announce, that he was ready for the departure. "Am I, then, reduced," said Napoleon, "to regulate my actions by the grand seneschal's watch? I shall go when I choose: Perhaps I shall not go at all: Leave me." As all those points of imperial etiquette, which he so much loved, were retained, when it pleased him to lengthen or shorten his stay in his cabinet, in order to enter the saloon where the commissioners awaited his approach, the door was thrown open, and "The Emperor" announced. No sooner had the words been pronounced, than he instantly drew back. However, his disappearance was but for a brief space; he entered the saloon, crossed the vestibule with hurried step, descended the stair, and, at mid-day precisely, stood before the head of his guards, as when reviewing them in the court of the Tuileries, during the brilliant times of the Consulate and Empire. Then ensued a spectacle which was really touching,—the parting of Napoleon from his soldiers. I enter not into details, which are known to all. His address to his old companions in arms, which he delivered with a firm and powerful voice, as in the days of his triumphs, belongs to history.

The following is Napoleon's last address in the court of Fontainebleau:—

"Soldiers of my old guard, I leave you."

* On the authority of the French editor, it was M. de Bussy.
—Translator.

twenty years I ever found you in path of honour and of glory. In these last times, as in times of prosperity, you have not ceased to be the object of bravery and fidelity. Such as you, our country is not lost—the cause has been saved; it must have become a civil war; France would have been only unfortunate. I have sacrificed my country. I depart. You, my friends, continue to France. My happiness was my sole thought; it must be the object of my prayers. Lament not my fate. I have sacrificed to survive myself, is that I may once again be the instrument of your glory. I will give history the great things which I have performed together. Adieu, my children! I long to press you all to my heart!" Having here desired the eagles to be advanced, Napoleon placed them in front and added, "I cannot embrace you all, but I do so in the person of your general. Soldiers, farewell! Always good and brave!"

After pronouncing, as the final adieu to his soldiers,—"Farewell, my children! my best wishes accompany you; remember me!" Napoleon entered his carriage with Bertrand. The cavalcade drove off in the following order:—General Drouot, in a close carriage, with four seats; the imperial carriage; the commissioners of Austria, Russia, England, Prussia, each in a separate vehicle, and successively as mentioned; came two carriages with the imperial household. Six other carriages, with the suite, followed, by a different road, it having been proved by report to me, the postmaster-general, that the horses, otherwise necessary, could be collected upon one road.

During the whole of the first day, nothing was heard, along the whole route, but shouts of

"*Vive l'Empereur!*" ■ ■ ■ Napoleon, with ■ ■ ■ disguised irony, ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ impertinence of ■ ■ ■ people towards ■ ■ ■ legitimate sovereigns. The guard accompanied him as far as Briare. From this place he wished to set out during the night; but, notwithstanding my precautions, ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ wanting, and the journey ■ ■ ■ not resumed before mid-day of the 21st. A little before setting out, he ■ ■ ■ another conversation with General Kohler, during which he said ■ ■ ■ him, among other things, "Well! yesterday you heard my address to my soldiers; it pleased you, I understand; ■ ■ ■ you witnessed the effect it produced. Such is the ■ ■ ■ in which they must be spoken to, and treated: if Louis does ■ ■ ■ follow the same example, he will never make any thing of the French soldiers."

While things continued ■ ■ ■ manifest the public opinion favourable to him, Napoleon conversed freely with ■ ■ ■ the commissioners: but always treated the Prussian envoy with least cordiality. All these particulars I know from subsequent conversations, ■ ■ ■ from daily reports transmitted to ■ ■ ■ the time. He made no secret ■ ■ ■ Colonel Campbell, of the motives whence this coldness proceeded, namely, that Prussia had shewn the first example of desertion, in the Russian campaign. At Braire, the colonel having been invited ■ ■ ■ breakfast, the Emperor ■ ■ ■ dined with him on the Spanish war, and spoke in high praise of the English nation, and ■ ■ ■ military talents of the Duke of Wellington. Yet, on the 21st, Napoleon must necessarily have been informed of the battle of Toulouse. In this conversation, Napoleon broke ■ ■ ■ into reproaches against ■ ■ ■ senate, and expressed a desire that the funds ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ been taken from ■ ■ ■ should ■ ■ ■ disbursed to the army.

In reference ■ ■ ■ this, I may introduce here some details ■ ■ ■ the imperial treasury: Napoleon, ■ ■ ■ I have mentioned, had amassed ■ ■ ■ the ■ ■ ■ of the ■ ■ ■ wing of the Tuileries ■ ■ ■ exceeding three ■ ■ ■

millions of francs. Of this, more than forty millions (£1,670,000) were in gold. A great portion of this enormous sum disappeared during the campaign of France: great surprise was occasioned by the sudden circulation, in January, 1814, of a vast quantity of [redacted] pieces, quite new, though with the date 1806. The Emperor had lent, from the imperial treasury, sixty millions to the annuity fund, and forty millions to the consolidated duty fund; [redacted] had, besides, purchased a large share in the Bank of [redacted]. On the 31st of March, there were found in the treasury only twenty-eight millions, of which ten were reclaimed. In the confusion, too, the Provisional Government resumed what had been lent; so that, in fact, the administration, though debtor to the imperial treasury, constituted itself its creditor, and [redacted] balanced accounts. [redacted] was of these transactions that Napoleon complained, and justly; for, whatever opinion might be [redacted] of the system [redacted] thus, by forced means, boarded up the greater proportion of the circulating medium of continental Europe; or by whatever [redacted] the money might have been acquired; it was now personal property, and, in good faith, not liable to the law of reprisal, — a savage code at the best. Even the sums taken by the Empress to Blois were charged against the treasury, [redacted] fraudulent abductions. Those who [redacted] thus, in opposition to the faith of treaties, saw not [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] they were providing [redacted] only just pretext for future disturbance.

On the 21st, Napoleon slept [redacted] Nevers, where he was still received with acclamation by the people, who, as in various other cities, mingled in their applause imprecations against [redacted] commissioners [redacted] the allies. He set out again at six next morning, but, beyond this, ceased the cheering welcome; for, being no longer attended by the guard, which Cossacks had now replaced, Napoleon had the mortification of

hearing *Allies for ever!* substituted *Emperor!* At Lyons, however, which he reached in the night, and where he merely changed horses, the favourite cheer arose from a few scattered groups around the post-houses.

Angereau, *the* last a republican, though made Duke of Castiglione by Napoleon, had constantly *been* discontented. On the *15th* of the Emperor, he was one of a very considerable body *who* became royalists, not from love to the Bourbons, but from *hatred* of *Naparte*. *He* commanded *at* this time in the south, and was among the first to send in his adhesion to the Provisional Government. Outrageous in all things, as uneducated men always are, Angereau had allowed to be published, under his name, a proclamation, than which nothing could be more violent or insulting, even to grossness, against the Emperor. Whether Napoleon *was* or *was not* informed of *this* proclamation, it *is* impossible to say; but so far is certain, that, on *the* 24th, upon meeting Angereau at *a* short distance from Valence, he feigned to be ignorant of all, if not really so, and, stopping his carriage, hastily alighted. Angereau *was* the same, and they embraced in presence of the commissioners, from one of whom I *was* *given* details. *He* *then* remarked, that Napoleon took off his hat, while Angereau affectedly remained covered. "Where are you going?" asked the Emperor: "to court?"—"No; at present I am on my way for Lyons."—"You have conducted yourself very badly towards me." Finding Napoleon used *the* familiar second person singular, Angereau assumed the *same* liberty, and they conversed as when both generals in Italy:—"Of what have you to complain?" replied the latter; "has not your insatiable ambition brought us *to* the condition in which we are? have you *not* *ruined* every thing *in* it—even the *wellfare* *of* France? I care no more [the term used had greater

energy still] ■ the Bourbons than for you : I regard ■ country alone." Such was Angereau's discourse, as he himself reported it to me. Upon this, Napoleon suddenly turned away from the marshal, took ■ his hat to him, and returned to the carriage. The commissioners, ■ these composing Napoleon's suite, were indignant ■ seeing Angereau remain in the road with his hands behind his back, keep a travelling cap ■ his head, ■ merely acknowledge the Emperor's courtesy by a disdainful wave of the hand. ■ should have been in the Tuileries (and there who more obsequious !) where this ought to have been the bearing of these haughty republicans : on the road to Elba, such behaviour ■ low-bred insolence.

At Valence, Napoleon beheld, for the first time, French soldiers with the white cockade in their caps : they belonged ■ Angereau's corps. At Orgeon, the air resounded with cries of " *Vive le Roi !* " Here ■ gaiety, real or assumed, which Napoleon ■ shewn throughout the whole of ■ journey, began ■ forsake him. Few cries of any kind had been heard for several stages, when, ■ last post-house from Avignon, while fresh horses ■ getting ready, a person in a peasant's dress, but whose fine shoes ■ stockings strangely contrasted with such rude habiliments, and still more remarkable by ■ gold-branched spectacles, came up to the carriage. He had crossed ■ fields in all haste ; and, getting upon the shoulders of another individual, ■ ■ ■ window, ■ ■ endeavouring to recognize ■ ■ ■ was reminded of his improper behaviour by the Emperor's valet, and requested to retire ; but paying no attention ■ ■ intimation, ■ attendant ■ outside significantly shewed a pistol, when he took the hint, and moved off, apparently before his strange curiosity had been gratified.

■ Napoleon arrived ■ Avignon three hours later ■ he did, unquestionably ■ would have ■

all over with him; but the rioters were not astir at five in the morning, and the escort did not even change horses in the city. About an hour afterwards, the Emperor, tired of the carriage, alighted, and, with Colonel Campbell and General Bertrand, walked up the nearest hill. His body servant, also on foot, was a few paces in advance, when he met a post-office courier, who said,—"The Emperor's carriages coming up there?"—"No, they are the equipages of the allies."—"I tell you they are the Emperor's. You must know I am an old soldier, and not so easily deceived. I served in the campaign of Egypt, and wish to save the life of my general. I have just passed through Orton; the Emperor is there hung in effigy; and, should he be recognised, he is a dead man. The miscreants have put up a gallows, and suspended a figure dressed in a French uniform smeared with blood, and bearing this inscription on the breast, 'Thou shalt thou be my day.' I know how it may fare with me, for giving this information: but I will not—profit by it." The faithful courier then set off at a gallop. The valet took General Drouot aside, and repeated what he had just learned. Drouot informed Bertrand, who communicated the intelligence to the Emperor, in presence of the commissioners. These gentlemen, justly alarmed, held a sort of consultation on the highway, and it was decided that the Emperor should set out before. The valet-de-chambre being asked what clothes he had in the carriage, produced a long blue cloak and round hat. It was proposed to place a cockade in the latter, but the Emperor, Napoleon, was not to be deceived. Thus disguised, he set out as a courier, with Anandru, one of the good people of Orton. When the commissioners arrived, they saw the whole population of the surrounding country assembled, and shouting, "The Emperor is here!"

Corsean! Down with the brigand!" The mayor of Orgon, whom I had seen almost on my knees before General Bonaparte, on our return from Egypt, addressed Pelard, one of Napoleon's valets-de-chambre—"Do you, sir, fellow that rascal?"—"No; I follow no rascal; I am attached at present to the commissioners of the allied powers."—"Ah! you do well; he is a great scoundrel. I would hang him with my own hand. You knew, sir, how we were cheated by that thief. It was I who received him on my return from Egypt. He wished, forsooth, to get out the horses and draw my carriage: I will now avenge myself for the honour which I rendered him on that occasion." The crowd augmented visibly, vociferating with that fury by which the inhabitants of the south manifest either their joy or hatred. Some of the most infuriated wished to force the imperial coachman to call out "*Vive le Roi!*" Upon his courageous refusal, more than a hundred sabres were raised, when, fortunately, the horses being harnessed, in an instant the postillions started at a gallop.

The commissioners would not stay to breakfast at Orgon, but, paying for what had been ordered, they carried away something to eat by the way. The equipages did not overtake the Emperor before reaching Calade, several stages in advance, where he arrived with his attendant about a quarter of an hour previously. He was then standing by the fire in the kitchen of the inn, chatting with the innkeeper's wife. At that moment she was asking him if the tyrant would ever be master. "Ah! master," said she, "it is all the same talking; we have not done with him yet. I am always for what I was before,—we shall never get rid of him till he be at the bottom of a well, with stones above: I shall be satisfied till I have him so pickled in our yard. You see, sir, the Directory sent him to Egypt, thinking they had done with him; but no! he came back again; and

he will now, you may be certain sure of it, unless"—— So far the good woman had her say, when, having finished skimming her pot, she looking up, perceived that the only person who was not in hand was precisely the one to whom she had been thus speaking. She stood in amazement; but her compunction for having spoken in such terms of the Emperor to the Emperor himself, banished all wrath, which was speedily replaced by an equal ebullition of kindness. There was no want of attention or respect which she did not lavish upon every body, from Napoleon down to Amandu. An express was instantly despatched to Aix for white muslin to make cockades; she had all the carriages drawn within the court yard, and every carriage to the inn barricaded, and even disclosed to the Emperor, that it would not be prudent to pass through Aix, where twenty thousand people waited to salute him.

In the midst of all these disquieting transactions, dinner was served, and the Emperor placed himself at table. He admirably maintained superiority over the agitation which he necessarily have been internally experienced, that he present at such strange entertainment, who have spoken to him on the subject, declared that Napoleon played the agreeable with greater success. The rich stores of memory and imagination which he displayed, charmed every one; and, as if throwing in the remark carelessly at the close, he said,—“ I begin to think the government entertains a design upon my life: come, let us see how we can foil the attempt?” Then, as if he sought to exercise his active fancy, in which a thousand schemes were constantly crowding and succeeding each other, he contrived how they should avoid the threatened assassination at Aix. Again, for a moment, he would descend to Lyons. Once on the borders of the Rhone, he would descend the river, take a ship, and embark for Italy.

These dreams occupied him but for a moment; stern necessity broke in upon his illusions, as some suppose ■ does upon our agency, and he prepared to continue ■ journey.

Meanwhile, many ■ countenances were seen assembling about their present lodging, when the ■ began seriously ■ consider what was to ■ done ■ Aix. While they deliberated ■ sending a messenger to the mayor of that city, a man ■ the crowd without, who would ■ give ■ requested ■ speak ■ the commissioners, and offered himself to be the bearer of their ■. This proposal was accepted, and a note written to the mayor, in which the commissioners stated, that, if the gates of the town were not shut within an hour, they would pass, with two regiments of Huzars, and six pieces of artillery, ■ fire upon all that should ■ their ■. This ■ produced its proper effect, ■ their unknown ■ with the assurance, that the magistracy ■ Aix would be responsible for all consequences within their ■ jurisdiction. But urgent danger ■ threatened at ■; the numbers outside the inn had greatly augmented during the ■ eight hours which the retinue ■ remained, and showed sufficiently to what excess they were ready to ■ proceed, if the entrances had not been carefully secured. The majority ■ five-franc pieces in their hands, bearing the head of the Emperor, whom, by this ■, they hoped to discover. At this moment, Napoleon, who had not slept for two nights, ■ in a small apartment off the kitchen, and dozing on the shoulder of one of his valets. He was roused by the ■ all were ready to start; ■ had been previously understood, ■ he ■ assume ■ and bonnet ■ General Kohler's courier, ■ of ■ Austrian commissioner's carriage. ■ rightful owner of the ■

happening to be almost twice the size of their temporary wearer, the Emperor, buried rather in his disguise, passed safely through two lines of curious observers, who looked in vain for the ornaments of their five-franc pieces.

In a moment of despondency, Calade, Napoleon said to those around him, "I renounce, now and for ever, the world of politics. I will no longer take any part in whatever may happen. At Porto Ferrajo I can live peaceably; there I shall be happier than I have been. No! were any day offered me, I would accept. I will employ myself in study,—with the sciences and mathematics. You have sufficient evidence what people are—I have done well never to esteem mankind. My treatment of France has been better than they deserved. Yet France!—the French!—what ingratitude! I am disgusted with ambition; I have no longer a wish to reign!"

Napoleon having gained the carriage, in the place just mentioned, the retinue drove off, and passed round the walls of Aix—the gates being closed—without entering the city. The Emperor perceived the danger which was threatened, but did not altogether free himself from the insults of the multitude. A part of the populace had got upon the walls and trees, whence a glimpse of the carriages could be descried, and they again wounded with their cries, "Down with the tyrant! Down with Nic!" These ignoble vociferations were heard for a quarter of a league from the town. Rendered gloomy by the indications of hatred, Bonaparte remarked, in a moment of mingled grief and contempt, "The men of this part of France are always the same,—braggarts and desperadoes. These provincials committed frightful massacres in the month of June, 1793. It was eighteen years ago since I came among them, with a few thousand men, to deliver

royalists, whom they had threatened to hang. crime ! Why, having worn a white cockade. I saved them ; but not without difficulty they resumed out of the hands of these infuriated monsters ; and to-day, you observe, they are ready to begin excesses against any among them who should to the white badge !” * About three miles from Aix were found a relay of horses, and an escort of gendarmerie as far as of Luc.

At a little distance from Luc, in a country house belonging to M. Charles, member of the legislative body, the Princess Borghese then resided. Informed of her brother's misfortunes, which she hardly conceived it possible for him to survive, she resolved on accompanying Elba. Her presence was a source of great comfort amid the Emperor's tribulations ; and she attended him to Frejus, in order there to embark in his company. At Frejus, the Emperor found Colonel Campbell, who had quitted the escort on the road, and arranged for preparing in the harbour the English frigate *Undaunted*, intended from the first to convey the Emperor. Notwithstanding the desire expressed by himself to that effect, Napoleon shewed much reluctance to embark in the *Undaunted*. † At length, however, on the 28th of April, he set sail for Elba in that frigate, which now no longer bore Caesar and fortunes.

* In a very valuable collection of autograph letters lately to be seen in Paris, was one from Lucien to Bonaparte, stating, that he was then in prison at Aix, as a royalist. This probably has reference to the incident in the text, for the dates nearly agree. — *Translator*.

† The *Undaunted*, of forty-six guns, was then by Captain Usher. Probably Bonaparte's reluctance to embark, if not sheer waywardness, arose from the name, which, as translated into French, would be *L'Indomptable*, one of the leading ships in the French fleet at the battle of Trafalgar. — *Ibid*.

CHAPTER IX.

ARRIVAL OF LOUIS XVIII.—RESTORATION OF THE
BOURBONS, AND STATE OF THE CONSTITUTION—
THE NEW SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT—INCAPACITY
OF THE ROYALISTS—ANECDOTES—SYMPTOMS OF AN
IMMINENT CRISIS—ANECDOTES—THE
COUNCIL—BOURBONNE MADE MINISTER—
THE NEW MINISTERS—LANDING OF BONAPARTE—AUTHEN-
TIC DETAILS OF HIS PLANS IN ELBA—FLIGHT OF
LOUIS XVIII.—ANECDOTES OF THE JOURNEY IN
LILLE—DEPARTURE FOR BRUSSELS AND HAMBURG—
ENTRANCE OF BONAPARTE INTO PARIS—ANEC-
DOTES—ASPECT OF THE CITY DURING THE HUNDRED
DAYS—MADAME DE STAEL—OFFICIAL CORRESPON-
DENCE—WATERLOO—WELLINGTON—BLÜCHER—
FOLCHE—GOVERNMENT OF THE BOURBONS—HAPPY'S
INTERVIEW WITH NAPOLEON—CONCLUSION.

THE force of time is the most irresistible of all
forces. We have seen it elevate, and we have seen
it overthrow, the sovereign of the moiety of Europe.
Turn we now to his successors:

During the winter of 1814 some royalist pro-
clamations made their appearance in Paris; and as
they contained the germs of the charter, were care-
fully intercepted by the police. My family and myself
devoted several hours each day to multiplying copies
of these documents. But for some time the royalists
could only cherish hopes. At length, as we have seen,
Bordeaux received within its walls a son of France;
and, on the 25th March, 1814, sent two of its deputies

to invite, [redacted] the same protection, Louis [redacted] I know [redacted] King had resolved to accept this homage, [redacted] preparing for his departure, on board a frigate, when [redacted] events of the [redacted] changed [redacted] dispositions. Leaving his retreat, he [redacted] received in London, by the Prince Regent, on [redacted] April, with all the ceremonial due to [redacted] rank.* From [redacted] period of [redacted] Emperor of Russia's [redacted] declaration, [redacted] active [redacted] had been maintained [redacted] [redacted] Government, and, on the 24th of April, Louis landed at Calais, [redacted] the *Royal Sovereign*, British man-of-war. For descriptions of the rejoicings on this occasion, I refer to the journalists, who [redacted] only to change the word *imperial* into *royal*, in describing the enthusiasm, of which, according to order, they had long been the faithful echo. The King slept [redacted] Amiens; next day, at Compeigne, the Provisional Government, the ministers, and marshals, tendered the assurance of their respective homage and fidelity. Berthier spoke for the marshals and the army; he extended to twenty-five, instead of ten years, the evils under which, he said, France had groaned; but from him this [redacted] in keeping—other language would have been unbecoming from [redacted] mouth of one whom the Emperor had unceasingly [redacted] with favours. At Compeigne, too, the Emperor Alexander met Louis XVIII, and the [redacted] monarchs dined together.

For my part, I did not go to Compeigne, the orders which I had constantly to give not permitting [redacted] to be absent, but was at St Ouen on the 2d May, when [redacted] King arrived. Here, when [redacted] majesty entered the saloon through which he was to pass to

* Upon this occasion, the sovereigns of France and England exchanged the orders of the *Holy Ghost* and of the *Garter*, George IV. being the first, and, I believe, the only Protestant prince ever decorated with the former insignia.

dinner, M. [redacted] recognized me; [redacted] addressed [redacted] King, who, advancing some steps towards me, said, "Ah! M. de Bourrienne, I am most happy to see you. I know the services you have rendered me, both at Hamburg and in Paris. I have pleasure in expressing my gratitude." We [redacted] [redacted] At St Ouen, Louis XVIII. promulgated the [redacted] which ushered in the charter. Here, too, the [redacted] presented a draught of [redacted] = Constitution;" and, to maintain, in *extremis*, its title of *Conservative*, [redacted] body stipulated for [redacted] conservation of [redacted] its endowments and pensions.

On the 11th of May, Louis XVIII. made his entry into Paris, the Duchess d'Angoulême being in the same carriage. There was not the same enthusiasm as when Monsieur entered. The people looked on in amazement. This coldness became still more apparent, a few days after, when he established the new corps, which Louis XVI. had abolished before the Revolution. It was, however, decreed by all a strange proceeding to remit the direction of affairs to M. de Blacas, who could know absolutely nothing of France. This gentleman, too, affected an omniscience quite ministerial. On the morning of the 11th May, I had gone to the Tuileries to present my portfolio to the king, in virtue of my privilege of being immediately under the sovereign. M. de Blacas would needs receive my portfolio. I resisted, and pleaded my right of immediate access to his Majesty: he told me I was by order of the King. Of course my papers were then resigned to him. I soon felt a keen sense of the vengeance of a courtier. Two days after this affair, I had, as usual, repaired early to my cabinet in the post-office, where I usually unfolded the *Moniteur*, which lay upon my desk. What I read there? Count Ferrand had been appointed to the office of postmaster-general in my stead. An intimation! not a single line in writing! no decree!

ordonnance! In very truth, I fell a-rubbing my eyes, thinking it ~~surely~~ surely be a dream. *Sic vos non vobis*, ~~recurred to me, when, on~~ devotion to the cause of the Bourbons, I was especially excepted from the deed of amnesty by Bonaparte. On recollecting what ~~between~~ between Blacas and myself, I had no doubt whence ~~blow~~ blow proceeded. The day following that on which I had been thus extruded from office, appeared in the *Moniteur* ~~first~~ first ministry of Louis, thus organised: Talleyrand, foreign affairs, Abbe Montesquieu, home department, Abbe Louis, finance, General Dupont, war, ~~Malouet~~ Malouet, admiralty, ~~Vitrolles~~ Vitrolles, secretary of state, M. de Blacas, master of the household, with a ~~in~~ in the council, and, finally, ~~de~~ de Beugnot, for the police. Of these eight, ~~had~~ had been recruited from the imbecility of France. This ~~soon~~ soon proved, ~~one~~ one end of the kingdom to the other, nothing ~~heard~~ heard but complaints against the measures of government. From every region ~~wide~~ wide upon ~~of~~ of courtiers were to be seen at the Tuileries, mendi- ~~for~~ for rewards, in virtue, it is ~~be~~ be presumed, of the vows they had secretly put up for ~~royal~~ royal cause in the ante-chamber. ~~the~~ the imperial court! The Legion of Honour was absolutely put to the hammer, whoever could but contrive to shew that ~~had~~ had won ~~an~~ an epaulette, metamorphosed himself ~~colonel~~ colonel, ~~the~~ the smallest sprig of the ~~gentility~~ gentility, became ~~count~~ count, or my lord marquis, ~~least~~ least. ~~The~~ of ~~an~~ an institution which had wrought prodigies, was one of the greatest evils of the ~~to~~ to prevent misconception, let ~~here~~ here a personal instance. I happened ~~when~~ when Monsieur restored the monument erected over ~~his~~ his august parents. The day after this ceremony, the prefect of ~~Yonne~~ Yonne transmitted ~~me~~ me, in ~~of~~ of the prince, an officer's cross of the Legion of Honour, for ~~trouble~~ trouble I ~~taken~~ taken. I

immediately upon Monsieur, but begged to return the cross, as I had been a member only four months, and done nothing deserving promotion, rapid beyond precedent. I supposed some mistake. Monsieur received me with his usual condescension, found my excellent, resumed the "reines, muse," with the proverb; truly it was with me, for, after seeing all the world promoted my head, I was my officer till 1823; being a private nearly ten years. At the epoch in question I received two crosses, either by way of compensation, or through another mistake.

Ridicule, meanwhile, had availed the restoring the usages of the ancient regime under every shape. The satirist had here a wide field, for example, my successor, M. de Ferrand, was in the habit of saying, "Why, the charter may be a good sort of thing, but what possible dignity can it have, when it was registered by the parliament of Paris?" Really, I can yet scarcely think myself awake, when reflecting on the incapacity of the people who managed our affairs after Talleyrand's removal to the congress at Vienna, whither he repaired in September. Every body then would and thought himself a man, and, Heaven knows what pranks the scholars played in absence of the master! The emigrants, as has been aptly said, neither had forgotten nor learned any thing, and shewed themselves with all the old pretensions and absurd vaunting. The greater part of these and silly personages might have served as counterparts to the character in one of Voltaire's novels, about constantly exclaiming, in answer to every thing, "A such as I!" The gentry were full of their own pretended merit, that they were thereby to the of seeing nothing else. Not only they disregarded the wishes and the of France, which, in

overturning the empire, hoped to have recovered liberty from the ruins, but they neglected every information. *Men such as they* not know all things! Did a man of experience, of both past and present parties, offer any advice on what was going forward elsewhere—"Pook, pook! he is an intriguer—an alarmist, he wishes to make himself of consequence. *Men such as we* know every thing, yet he pretends to see farther into a millstone than we. Leave him alone!"

From the month of December I had sure indications of an approaching catastrophe. Hortense, I knew, had been so busily intriguing at Plombières, Eugene, who intended to join his sister at the waters, hearing of, and not caring to be involved in, these intrigues, had taken a different resolution, after his horses, carriages, and aide-de-camp, had already arrived. Friends, too, on both sides of the question, participated or enjoyed these apprehensions, while each added to my information. Proposals even were made directly to me, of "titles, riches, honours, if I would range myself among the friends of my old friend." One of my intimations referred to a man afterwards unfortunately but too conspicuous—"Yesterday," said my friend, one, too, entirely attached to the royal cause, "I met Charles de Labedoyere; you know how he is. I remarked a strange agitation on his part. I asked him to dine with me, but he declined, because we should not be alone, he begged me to dine with him to-day. We conversed long on the present posture of affairs, and, you be sure, as usual, did not agree. There is, however, a compact between us; we dispute—say a hundred ridiculous things, and still remain the same good friends as before. But what gives me real uneasiness is, that, on parting this evening, Charles wrung my hand, saying, 'Courage, my friend—farewell! tomorrow I am off for Grenoble. Within a month you will hear of Charles de Labedoyere!'"

My conviction of an approaching crisis had become strong, that, in the month of January, I solicit an interview with M. de Blacas, certainly with intention compromising any one, to place results of my information at his disposal. Let me then be permitted a brief excursion into the region of absurdity; the reader will barely be able to conceive the union of such fatuity and self-conceit: M. de Blacas received me not. What was I in comparison with a man such as he? I enjoyed, however, the signal honour of seeing his secretary; and, the circumstance merits remembrance, he was a churchman by name Abbé Fleuriel. What a study for a comic poet! Abbé Fleuriel, the Adonis, the beau-ideal of self-satisfied impertinence! How vast a share it had of the dignity which the great secretary of a great minister; and how pretty, too, when he said, with the most careless grace, "My Lord the Count is not at home!" But three mouths such as his would have been required to add full volume to the words, "My Lord the Count," how swell did he seem inclined to give them. My Lord the Count was at home; I knew it. Will he be credited?—the Abbé—the secretary, requested of my business with the minister! I threw my back upon the coxcomb, without deigning to reply, and left the place, amazed to find the affairs of France confided to such a man. Devoted, however, to the cause of the Bourbons, and things appearing serious, I wrote, on the same day, to M. de Blacas:—No answer; two days after, when, although I regret, I thought that I had something important to communicate:—No answer. Unable to comprehend the cause of this inexplicable silence, I went to the Pavilion of Flora, and besought the charming Abbé Fleuriel to explain, if so he be might, the cause of his master's impertinent silence. "Sir," replied the sable, "I received your letters; I

laid them before my Lord the Count; I do not know why he [redacted] not replied to them. I can [redacted] nothing in the matter: but my Lord the Count is so engaged! my [redacted] Count has [redacted] many [redacted] my [redacted] [redacted] attend to all!"—"My Lord [redacted] Count will repent of it, perhaps," [redacted] I; "Good morning, sir." I may just conclude [redacted] affair, by stating, that, after the [redacted] restoration, I again encountered the Abbé at the Tuileries. He expressed regret that I had not been admitted by M. [redacted] Blacas; but, unwilling to alter [redacted] tone, he [redacted] the [redacted] to repeat,—“But really, if you [redacted] known how [redacted] was engaged!”—"Mr Abbé," said I, "there [redacted] be [redacted] doubt of the count's engagements. We may judge of them from his works."

I [redacted] thus experience in my own person of the truth of what had been reported to me of M. de [redacted]. This minister had succeeded Count d'Avuray, and enjoyed the unlimited confidence of [redacted] king, concentrating the whole power [redacted] his cabinet, and so monopolising the [redacted] royal favour, that even the [redacted] esteemed servants of Louis had first to apply to M. [redacted] Blacas. As for him, upon any [redacted] giving [redacted] advice, [redacted] would say, with imperturbable self-sufficiency, "Who? that man? pahaw! he [redacted] [redacted] intriguer—a Bonapartist—a visionary—an alarmist—a grumbler. I do not wish to hear him mentioned." And [redacted] [redacted] of good advice was fairly bowed out. As an instance, take the following, which occurred a few [redacted] days after my own misadventure: General Bala- [redacted] desired to speak with the King [redacted] the events which [redacted] [redacted] foresaw. His majesty contented himself with saying, "Let [redacted] [redacted] Blacas." Balathier was accordingly received by the favourite minister, who, having listened to his communications, answered, "Eh! bon Dieu! Sir, [redacted] are old women's tales. Singular enough! So you conceive yourself better informed than [redacted] who are at the head of affairs?"—

"Certainly, my lord," replied Balathier, with perfect military frankness; "certainly I am, on this point, better than you, surrounded by flatterers, who only what may please you."—"Sir, I tell you again, that I know completely all you would instruct me in." miserable vanity!

Seeing nothing could be done M. de Blacas, I wrote to M. de Talleyrand, then at Vienna; and, as he corresponded directly with the King, I make that my communications reached his majesty through this channel. time been lost, events hurried on; and, before Louis XVIII. clearly learned his danger, it was too late for effectual precautions.

The circumstances of the return of part known to all, and may be read in various publications; I shall, therefore, forbear any recital of that inconceivable enterprise. As for myself, soon I was informed of the rapidity of advance upon Lyons, and the enthusiasm with which he was received by the army and the people, I prepared to set out for Belgium, there to await the close of this drama. My arrangements completed on the evening of the 13th of March, and I was on the point of commencing my journey, when an especial messenger from the Tuileries conveyed the King's pleasure that I should repair thither immediately. This order signified an inconsiderable alarm, but I did not hesitate to obey. Being introduced, the King received me with great kindness, but in a tone very expressive of his meaning,—“M. Bourrienne, we count upon you; I expect all your zeal and fidelity.”—“Your majesty shall have no cause to complain that I betrayed your confidence.”—“Tis well; I will re-establish the prefecture of police, and appoint you prefect. Go, M. Bourrienne, do for the best; I confide in you.” It was singular enough, that on the 13th, while the King in Paris thus placed me

office, Bonaparte, at Lyons, signed a decree, excluding Talleyrand, Marmont, myself, and ten others, from the general amnesty.

In the first moment, I had listened only to my zeal for the royal cause, and accepted; but reflection on the responsibility, and small chance of now being serviceable in my office, I confess, filled me with alarm. My apprehensions were not diminished on withdrawing the proceedings of the council, which was held that night in the Tuileries, ■ the apartments of M. ■ Blacas. The ignorance of our real position then manifested by the ministers surpasses all belief. These great men of the state, with all ■ means of power and knowledge in their hands—the telegraph, the post-office, money, the police and its innumerable agencies—absolutely knew nothing of Napoleon's march, and asked ■ to give them information. I could, of course, only report what I had collected on 'Change, or picked up here and there during the last four-and-twenty ■ I ■ not conceal, that all their precautions would ■ vain. This brought on the discussion, how to dispose of the King? where was he to go? One proposed Bourdeaux; another, La Vendée; a third, Normandy. At length, ■ high in authority gave his voice for ■. "If it come to blows," said I, "that is the most likely place for the engagement." I was answered, that the appearance ■ the King, in his carriage with eight horses, would rouse a marvellous enthusiasm among the soldiers! "Do not think of resistance," said I; "not a soldier will draw a trigger. Defection among the troops is inevitable: they amuse themselves, and get drunk in their barracks, with the money ■ which, ■ purchase their fidelity, you have distributed among them within the last few days; ■ do you know what they say? I will tell you,—'He is a good enough sort of person, Louis XVIII; but, huzza! the little corporal for ever!'"

On the news of Bonaparte's landing, the King sent an express for Marmont, then at Châtillon, he had gone to receive his mother's sigh. The King had counselled Louis to stay in Paris, but he shut himself up with his household—about five thousand devoted and honourable men—in the Tuileries, which was capable of sustaining a siege. His design he supported by stating, that the effect produced by the rapid advance of Napoleon from the Gulf of Juan, would be more than counterbalanced on the public mind by the spectacle of an aged monarch defending himself in his palace. I was of a different opinion, and proposed Lille as the nearest and most secure, consequently, in the state of things, the best asylum. It was past midnight before the council broke up, without coming to any determination though, when the time came, Lille was selected as the King's retreat.

On being introduced into the royal cabinet, after the few words already noted, Louis asked what I thought of the situation of affairs? "Sire, I think Bonaparte will be here in five or six days."—"How, sir?"—"Yes, sire; in five or six days."—"What measures are taken, orders given, and the marshals are sent to me."—"Sire, I suspect no one's safety; but I can assure your majesty, since Bonaparte has disembarked, that he will be here before eight days. I know him, but your majesty does not know him as well as I; but, sire, I do assure your majesty, that he will not be here six months: he will commit some error which will be his ruin."—"de Bourrienne, I am not so favourably disposed to events; but my misfortune decrees that I must again leave France, and your second prediction be fulfilled, you may rely upon me." During this conversation, the King appeared calm and resigned, shewing that philosophy springs from a peace-conscience, tempered by adversity.

On the morrow, I repaired again to the palace, ■■■ received an order to arrest five-and-twenty persons, according to a list given. ■ attempted ■ shew the nullity and mischievous tendency of this step, but in vain; some abatement was made in favour of twenty-three, who ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ surveillance, but the two first ■■■ absolutely ■ be arrested — namely, Fouché and Davoust. The King ■■■ ■■■ repeated,—" I desire that you ■■■ Fouché ■ be arrested"—" Sure, I beseech your majesty ■■■ the effect."—" It is my especial pleasure that you arrest Fouché; ■■■ I am ■■■ you will fail, for Andre could not succeed." I dared not disobey ■ order ■ express, ■■■ a moment was to be lost. Arrangements made, my agents presented themselves ■ the hotel of the Duke of Otranto. On exhibiting their credentials,—" How!" exclaimed Fouché, ■ glancing it over, "this warrant is null—it is good ■■■ nothing, it purports to come from the prefect of police, and there is no such functionary." In my opinion, Fouché was right, for my nomination having taken place during the night, the appointment had not yet been officially announced. On his refusal ■ follow these my orderings, ■ party moved ■ to the head-quarters of the National Guard, to obtain assistance. Desolles, the commandant, repaired in his turn to the Tuileries, to get fresh powers from ■ King. During these comings and goings, Fouché retained ■ his coolness; conversed with ■ agents, and, feigning ■ enter a closet, which opened upon ■ dark passage, ■■■ my unfortunate myrmidons bewildered ■ the midst of darkness, slept away, gained ■ street, got into ■ hackney coach, and drove ■ ■ ends the famous history of Fouché's arrest. As to Davoust, he ■■■ my personal enemy; I therefore only placed him under surveillance.

These orders were given on the 15th; the same day, I called upon M. de Blacas; and, after some con-

version in the best manner of securing the King's safety, asked him what previous information he had obtained of Bonaparte's departure from France. "The only thing which we know positively," replied the minister, "was by an intercepted letter, written from the island of Elba, on the 6th of February, addressed to a certain person, resident in Grenoble; but I can shew you" he then took from the drawer of his writing table, the original letter, which I read. The writer thanked his correspondent for information which had been sent to the island of Elba. Afterwards, the letter went on to state, that all was prepared for the departure, that the first favourable opportunity would be seized for that purpose, but before finally determining, certain inquiries must be answered. Then followed questions upon a great many details,—what regiments had been sent into the south—the place of their cantonment, whether the officers were appointed, as agreed at Paris, if Labordiere was at his post,—concluding with a hope that the correspondent would leave nothing to desire in his replies on these important points. The communication was long, and struck me as containing every requisite information, respecting the intended landing in the south of France, in Provence, on returning it, therefore, I could not help saying to M. de Blacas,—“That letter, I think, gave sufficient warning, what was done?”—“I immediately caused the letter to be copied, sent it to M. de Andrie, that he might give the order to arrest the individual to whom it had been addressed.” And this was all that had been done to counteract a conspiracy of this nature—that all, too, occupied three days, and consequently even in its limited object of securing the Grenoble correspondent! In truth, as much might have been expected, when the police had got hold of the letter. My movement of surprise did not escape notice,—“What would you have done?” I entered into a detail of the

congenial to the prompt government to which I had been accustomed. "You may be right, sir," de Blacas, "but how could it help? I am now here."—"Any where," I thought, should have been the word. The evil, however, was the present, irremediable; though I had the future: the momentary resurrection of the empire had, indeed, become inevitable, only for a moment. My friends will bear witness, I constantly maintained, Bonaparte would in six months in In recalling him, men with the individual whom they thus recalled; they acted, from love to his person; nor was from faithfulness to the remembrance of the empire, a portion of France embraced its it become the general desire, at whatever price, off those inane counsellors, who conceived they might treat France as a country conquered by and the emigrants; Frenchmen desired to rescue themselves from a government which seemed resolved trading under foot all is dear to France. In state of things, some hailed Bonaparte as a liberator, but the greater part regarded him merely as an instrument; to this latter class belonged, especially, republicans, united with whom those generation, who hitherto liberty only in promises, and were blinded enough to believe, that idol of France would be restored by Napoleon.

let in brief review, the circumstances and designs which had wrought consummation, so far as respected the return of Napoleon. During of 1815, events in Italy, of the rest of Europe, attracted much attention. These events, however, considered relatively the gigantic plans long meditated by Napoleon, be attempted, of vast importance, was yet complicated, and, in advanced slowly, that a local

might exercise an extensive influence
 general of the Continent. In
 February, when all arrangements
 now completed for the departure from Elba, Murat
 requested permission from the Court of Vienna to
 conduct, through its provinces of Upper Italy, an
 army for France. On the 26th of the same
 month, Napoleon was in prison. These two
 have necessarily a close connection with
 other. Unquestionably, however extravagant, Murat
 could have conceived it possible to obtain, by
 force, the King of France, recognition of his
 the throne of Naples. occupying that
 kingdom never been regarded as an usurpation,
 the of the Tuileries; and I know that
 French plenipotentiaries at Vienna had special
 instructions to insist on the congress on the restoration
 of the Two Sicilies to their ancient sovereign, as a
 consequence of the restoration of the crown of France.
 I likewise know, that this demand was strongly
 resisted by the part of Austria, whose government
 never viewed, without jealousy, three
 European thrones occupied by the single house of
 Bourbon. Murat, therefore, well aware of the
 part he might play in France, by thus supporting
 the conspirators, and the views of his brother-in-law.
 daringly advanced to the banks of the Po,
 leaving his country his capital exposed; and
 incurring by this movement, the hostile resentment of
 both Austria and France. It is incredible that
 would have acted thus, unless previously assured of a
 powerful diversion, and the assistance of Napoleon in
 his favour. There is a possibility, indeed, that
 contemplated securing himself in Italy, while the
 whole power of Europe should be engaged against
 Napoleon: but this supposition leads to the
 same conclusion,—that he was a party to the
 prize of Bonaparte. Murat, however, thus acting

rather like an adventurer a monarch, having an attack against the bridge of Occhio-Bello, constrained to retreat, his ill-advised expedition ended by ruining the grand in which intended to co-operate.

The plans and intentions of Napoleon, again, conceived in the island of Elba, were as follow, I guarantee the authenticity of the details given:—Almost immediately after his arrival in Paris, he gave directions to his devoted marshals to defend, the last extremity, the entrances of French territory, and the approaches to the capital, by manœuvring within the triple line of fortresses which girdle the northeast frontier. Davoust was set apart for the defence of Paris, while there were others to defend; he was to arm the populace of the suburbs, and to have, besides, twenty thousand of the National Guard at his disposal. Napoleon, knowing well the situation of the allies, believed they could unite and march against him speedily as they did in the sequel. He hoped to anticipate and counteract their disposition, by causing Murat to march upon Milan, and by arming Italy. The Po passed, and Murat approaching the capital of Italy, Napoleon, with the corps of Suchet, Brune, Grouchy, and Massena, increased by troops sent post from Lyons, crossed the Alps, and invaded Piedmont. Having recruited his army from among the insurgents, he was to join the Neapolitans at Milan; there proclaim the independence of Italy, united under a single chief; and afterwards march, at the head of one hundred thousand men, upon Vienna, through the Julian Alps,—a route by which victory had already guided him, in 1797. This was not all. Numerous emissaries, dispersed in Poland and Hungary, were there to foment troubles, awaken thoughts of liberty and independence, in order to spread disquiet through

Russia; and were to have Europe freed, out of revenge for not having allowed herself enslaved by Napoleon would have been a solemn, but singular spectacle; is the thought without grandeur, that such a man, in such a place, cherished these meditations.

As the of success in these mighty combinations, Napoleon had calculated upon assuming the initiative in military operations. For put, never had I beheld his genius more fully developed than in this vast conception—which was not matured in one day. This design, in fact, comprised the essence of all he had ever aspired to accomplish—embraced all the great enterprises which he had meditated, from the first of his fields to his latest hour, on the imperial throne. The final object alone was changed—from empire to liberty; but success would, in all likelihood, have restored the original plan of selfish ambition. According to this scheme, his base of operation extended over a basis of five hundred leagues, from Ostend, by the Alps and Italy, to Vienna. He would thus have secured resources of every kind, would not only have prevented the Emperor of Austria from bringing troops against France, but have probably constrained him to terminate a war, of which the hereditary estates supported the whole burden. Such were the alluring prospects unfolded before the imagination of Napoleon, when he set foot upon the deck of the vessel that bore him from the rocks of Elba to the shores of France. But the reckless precipitation Murat roused Europe to an attitude of preparation, and the brilliant illusion faded like a dream.

Upon the attempted execution of this great enterprise, it is unnecessary to enter, how troops, sent against their ancient leader, served only to swell his triumphant exit, is known to the world; how eagles flew from tower to tower, been

repeated to satiety. These were the visible effects of the secret resolutions, now for the first time explained. I may mention one thing, generally known, though I may readily conceive, — that, on hearing of the decree promulgated at Lyons, I little cared that he should catch me at Paris. On the other hand, my duties of office required me, and I had resolved to quit my post, the royal family should be in safety. I need not say with what distressful feelings, during the 19th and 20th, I witnessed their departure; how sad a spectacle the palace of a king, at the moment when he was strained to leave it. After assuring myself that all was tranquil, and that no danger existed so far as the princes were concerned, I set out, alone, at four in the morning, taking the route for Lille; so fully I persuaded that the King had followed the northern route. Nothing extraordinary marked my journey before reaching Fios. Here I found a great number of carriages stopped for want of the means of conveyance. I had entered more than once the public room, and asked the postmaster for horses. "Wait your turn," very gruffly said the man in authority; then added, "Do you come from Paris?" — "I just passed through; I came from Sens." — "Any thing new in Paris?" — "Nothing, so far as I know." — "An express has just passed; he will be there this evening." — "Who?" — "Pooh! You not know? Bonaparte." — "No! Indeed?" I could not exactly make what to make of this conversation, when the postmaster quitted the room rather mysteriously. Thus left to my own, by no means pleasing, cogitations, I had stuck myself up as I eagerly perusing a large proclamation in Russian and French, fixed against the wall. It was one I had procured, while postmaster general, from the Czar, protecting the post from military requisition. "Sir," the postmaster, who entered, "you see there an

order which saved me from beggary." — " You would then merely do any injury I have signed it?" — " I forbade! — I knew you from the first — you saved me from just matter, which had brought me to Paris when you were our head — I have then been out on your account; your charge is of the garden, with the only pair of remaining, my son is to be a position, and will spare me a pair."* The postmaster then said word, for I observed the private signal of transmitted from one position to another, and, by an hour after midnight of the 21st, found myself before the gates of Lille. They were shut, but a wretched lodging obtained in the suburbs, which I entered with a sense of happiness, surpassed only by the relief of quitting it next morning.

On the 22d, the King, who, after all, had adopted my opinion, arrived at Lille. As a consolation for my own mishap, I thought that majesty had scarcely better than the gate. I placed myself among those who waited his alighting at the hotel. He did not perceive me, then, extending his hand, the King said, " Follow me, de Bourrienne." I had the honour of sitting down to table with his majesty, but the breakfast was a melancholy one. The events of the 10th formed the subject of conversation, and all viewed them in a sombre light. Berthier, also present, partook largely in the general depression. I alone seemed to have any confidence and ventured, as in the Tuileries, to predict, " I am likely within three months the King would be in his kingdom." Berthier continued

* The reader will bear in mind, that a postmaster in France is not, as with us, " a man of letters," merely, but has charge of all the relays over a certain district, and that in France, as over the whole of the Continent, all posting is in the hands of government — *Translation*

biting ■■■ as usual; and ■■■ majesty, giving ■■■ plain ■■■ understand, by ■■■ manner, that he put down my observation among the flatteries ■■■ which ■■■ accustomed, replied,—“Monsieur Bourrienne, when I ■■■ king, you shall be my prefect of police.” ■■■ ■■■ The kindly answer gratified, without deceiving ■■■ It soon appeared th ■■■ Lille ■■■ place for the King: the Napoleon fever ■■■ seized ■■■ troops in the garrison; ■■■ the guard shewed evident symptoms of having caught the infection. Nor, ■■■ must ■■■ confessed, ought there to have been ■■■ of surprise in the fact, that the soldiers of the ■■■ army shewed discontent, sacrificed as they were to constantly recurring arrivals of the ancient servants ■■■ monarchy of which they recked not; nor that they hailed the return of him whom they had so often followed ■■■ victory and honour.

Yielding to the entreaties of his faithful friends, Louis, therefore, left Lille on the third day after ■■■ entrance; but the resolution was taken with regret, ■■■ not till Marshal Mortier, who commanded under the Duke of Orleans, and whose conduct under ■■■ cult circumstances merited the highest praise, had stated that he could no longer answer for his soldiers. The King removed to Ghent. In the preceding September, he had named ■■■ charge-d'affaires ■■■ Hamburg. ■■■ the point of departing beyond the soil of France, the King conceived that my presence in the north of Germany would prove useful to ■■■ I therefore set out immediately, and without reluctance, for ■■■ place where ■■■ had many friends. Though thus removed from ■■■ immediate theatre of events, I continued to ■■■ informed of all important transactions.

Bonaparte entered Paris on the ■■■ of March, ■■■ eight o'clock ■■■ night. Nothing could ■■■ dis- ■■■ than this entry. ■■■ darkness ■■■ increased by ■■■ thick fog. The ■■■ were deserted, ■■■ on

every countenance might read an expression of vague alarm. The white standard, torn down in the morning from the Tuileries, had been replaced by the tricoloured flag; the former ensign floated above most of the public buildings of Paris. Even throughout the day, numbers of the military continued to display the white cockade. Not one appeared to greet Napoleon on his passage, nor had arrived at the approach to the Tuileries, where, in the vestibule, and in the pavilion of Flora, his intimate confidants assembled, and conducted him to his apartments. In the square of the Carrousel were to be heard shouts of "The Emperor!" but these were drowned in "Down with the calotte!" vociferated by the rabble.

Two hours after my departure—that is, at six in the morning of the 20th—Madame Bourrienne also left Paris, for an asylum about twenty miles distant. At nine on the same morning, an individual devoted to Bonaparte, with whom, however, I never had any intimate correspondence, sent an emissary to my house, requesting to see Madame de Bourrienne. My sister-in-law replied to the envoy, and was strictly questioned respecting my absence. This emissary stated, at the same time, that, above all things, I ought to avoid following the King; and, I returned quietly to Burgundy, the great personage whom I do not name, but whom the reader will perhaps divine, would answer for my pardon with the Emperor. Twelve hours after—when Bonaparte arrived—a lady also called upon my wife; my sister-in-law again went to meet her in the garden, without a light, that they might not be observed, and through a piercing cold, for the temperature seemed in unison with the transaction. She was accompanied by another lady, who, the night preceding, had been at Fontainebleau to see Bonaparte, and had been charged with a message for me to remain at my post, as prefect of police, and

nothing, pardon and complete were certain. General to assure Madame de Bourrienne of the same amicable relations, and to induce whom they supposed concealed in Paris, to appear. Though these instances of friendship, I regret having Paris. At this epoch, too, I information, which, afterwards followed up, enabled me to discover the real motives of Bonaparte's hatred, namely, that he suspected me of connection with London. This, I found, arisen from General Van Driessen having mentioned my name in a letter to the King, Hartwell, as the person who, at Hamburg, had dictated him a draft of a royal proclamation, which I certainly did, because, then, a royalist at heart, I found he was likely to ruin the cause, by injudicious publications. This came to the Emperor's ears,—for he was agent about King Hartwell, whose station placed them above suspicion, and who thus knew the transactions there. The report, however, had been greatly exaggerated, and I do not know, certainly, that he had now discovered his mistake; I am persuaded, had I remained in Paris, that Napoleon would have given no serious evidence of displeasure. He was irritated, however, by my absence, my supposed concealment, and six agents were sent to my house to examine and seal my papers. Their harsh investigations gave great trouble to me and my family. They searched my pockets, and ripped the lining, of my trunk for papers. I was not the less, however, so caught: before my departure, I took the precautions which set my mind at rest; they laboured for their pains.

only upon men to the evils of flight, exile, persecution fall; whom a system of tricks, unworthy of the Emperor, was

formerly condemned to expatriation, had now to fear severity. The beautiful Chevreuse, who had been banished for having courage (then a rare quality even in the nobler sex) to say, that she was made to be the Queen of Spain's jailor, died of a broken heart, in the arms of the Duchess of Liancourt, her mother-in-law. The glorious exile of Coppet, on the Emperor's return, was in a woman of little capable of bearing up against any sudden and violent emotion. This had been brought on by her flight from Coppet in Russia, immediately after the birth of a son, the issue of a private marriage with the Duc de Rocca. Under these circumstances she had no other means of safety but renewed exile. This, indeed, was not a long one; but Madame de Staël never recovered from the effects occasioned by its inquietude and fatigues. The authoress of *Germany* naturally recalls to my mind her faithful friend, Madame de Recamier, who was herself not secure against the severity of Napoleon. She did not, indeed, fly from Paris, in 1813, though she returned in 1814, only through the force of events, and without her exile having been revoked. That exile was pronounced in a singular way. Madame de Recamier paid frequent visits to Madame de Staël at Coppet: irritated and more by such intercourse, Napoleon ordered Pouchès to intimate, on the last of these occasions, that Madame de Recamier was perfectly mistress of her motions, in going to Switzerland, but not in returning to Paris. "Ah! sir," replied she, to the minister, "a great man may be pardoned the weakness of loving himself, never that of fearing them;" and Madame de Recamier departed for Coppet.*

* A beautiful retreat on the Lake of Geneva: next to Paris, the favourite residence of Madame de Staël—if one like her, who lived only in a crowd, could have a favourite abode amid

To return to the epoch denominated the Hundred Days: It is worthy of remark, that Bonaparte, on attaining the consulate, passed exactly a hundred days in the Luxembourg, before his installation in the Tuileries. If I do not see Paris in this latter era, my correspondence sufficiently proved to me, and my information has since been confirmed by even the partisans of Bonaparte, that the excesses of the Revolution had the capital been so mournful and gloomy, during these three months of agony. None had confidence in the duration of this second

It quickly became the general opinion, Fouché, in supporting the of the usurper, secretly betraying it. Throughout the whole of society, fears of the future agitated men's minds, and discontent was at its height. The sight of the federates traversing the suburbs and Boulevards, shouting "Long live the Republic!" and "Death to the Royalists!"—their sanguinary songs—the revolutionary airs performed in the theatres—all threw a sort of stupor over the mind, and an impatient anxiety to the name of these disgusting events.

One circumstance, which, at the of the Hundred Days, tended most directly to open men's eyes, still dazzled by the reflected light of Napoleon's past glory, was the non-fulfilment of the vaunting promises that the Emperor and his rejoin him immediately.

This clearly shewed that he could not count upon a single ally, and it would have been blindness,

silent significance of nature. It is very possible to conceive, from a further portion of these *Memoirs*, how Bonaparte came to dislike Madame de Stael, but, arise from his weakness, is incomprehensible how he came to hate her. Madame de Stael's vague notions of liberty are calculated to prove real freedom, than her crude sentimentality. — Translator.

indeed, notwithstanding the prodigious activity which reigned in the military preparations, to suppose he could triumph over the whole of Europe, then evidently aiming at each against him. When the first of Bonaparte's dismemberment received Vienna, the congress made but slender advances towards the arrangement of affairs. The members of that high assembly considered themselves as labouring on the reconstruction of an enduring desirable order of things, and proceeded with that caution and maturity of examination indispensable to the accomplishment of this object, especially after an agitation by which all interests had more or less displayed. The plenipotentiaries, hearing of the landing in the Gulf of Juan, signed a protocol of their conference. This was supposed, but erroneously, to have been drawn up by M. de Talleyrand. There had been another, which, chiefly through his instrumentality, operating by M. de Labrada, minister of Spain, had been rejected, too undecided. This first protocol, a declaration of the 5th May, being set aside, that of the 22d adopted, which consisted in adhering to the treaty of Paris. The reader will be gratified by the following letters on these details, addressed to him by Talleyrand, the first politician of the age. —

“ Vienna, 19th April, 1813.

“ Every account that reaches from the interior of France, proves that Bonaparte is there in the greatest difficulty. All confirms that the majority of the nation is against him, that, in truth, he has no more his side save the army, and that, of the troops, the new levies far from being devoted partisans. The southern provinces have submitted to his authority. There the Duke d'Angoulême continues to maintain his position. His troops increase daily. He has advanced with

MEMOIRS OF

upon Lyons, and, by my last news, that city is in a siege. On the other hand, troops advancing from the frontiers with the greatest celerity. Throughout, military operations are commencing with the greatest energy and activity. The troops which are upon the Viadrula, have arrived in Bohemia four days earlier than was expected, and will reach the Rhine at the same time with the Austrian levies. Towards the middle of May, it is hoped, active operations will be begun, and the immensity of the army assembled will completely decide all as to the issue of events. The King, of whom I have news yesterday, is at Ghent, and well; full of courage and hope. The Duke d'Artois is in Brussels. The army of the Duke of Wellington, nearly eighty thousand strong, is concentrated near Mons. Great unanimity prevails between the Duke of Wellington and General Gneisenau commanding the Russian troops. Murat, conceiving that, while the allied powers were engaged against Bonaparte, he should find few obstacles in Italy, advanced to the Po, but has failed in his attack at Occhio-Bello, and retreated. Since then, the Austrian troops, who are receiving daily reinforcements, have obtained advantages over him on the side of Modena."

Another letter of 5th May, after blaming my long silence, and praising an article which I had written for the journals, continues thus:—"Since my last, you have learned that the Duke d'Angoulême has found it impossible to maintain his position in the south, as we had hoped. France, then, for the moment, is wholly under the yoke of Bonaparte. A civil war will not commence for some time, it being the design to attack upon many points at once, and with great force. The most perfect unanimity prevails in all military measures among the allied powers. The war against Murat continues with a success that

fair reader it of brief duration. incessantly demanded armistices, which have been refused."

The following letter refers the proceedings of congress, and otherwise very important:—

"M. de Bourrienne,—Bonaparte, subsequently arrival in Paris, having first denied the authenticity of the declaration of the 13th March, and afterwards endeavoured to weaken its effect, by different publications, some persons here thought that it would be useful to publish a second. The congress desired the question to be examined by a commission, whose report was presented on the 12th current, (May.) That report, while it confirms the dispositions manifested by the powers, in the declaration of the 13th March, refutes the sophisms of Bonaparte, exposes his impostures, and concludes, that his position with regard to Europe being neither changed, by the first success of his enterprise, nor by the offer which he made to ratify the treaty of Paris, a second declaration is in respect necessary. In the process-verbal hereupon published by the plenipotentiaries, it will be remarked, that Europe is not represented as making war for the King, and his solicitation; France declares war on her own account, because her interest requires, and her safety demands it. This is the exact truth; and it is also the proceeding in reference to the King, and most favourable to his interests. Were they to believe in France that war is carried on solely for the interest of the King, his subjects would look in him as author of the disasters which it will occasion. Such an opinion could have only one effect—to alienate their feelings from his majesty, and incline them to embrace the party of Bonaparte. On the other hand, from the manner in which the war is now

represented, it is Bonaparte alone to whom these evils can be attributed; a fact of which I am most important to convince all, especially in France. Receive, &c. THE PRINCE DE TALLEYRAND."

Within less than a month after the reception of the above, these wise arrangements I decided the I of the I. During I interval, I I kept informed of the military events I they I place; I these I known to all the world. I I one or more extracts, from a portion of my correspondence, on less generally known topics: "I have just learned," I of my correspondents, the Marquis de Bonnay, "that Berthier has fallen from a window in the fourth story of the Castle of Bamberg. There can be no doubt that he threw himself down. You will ask me why? You will quote to me what he asseverated I you at Brussels; namely, his invariable attachment I the cause of the King. But know I what he did afterwards? The German gazettes announced his being under surveillance; they related I how he had attempted to enter France in disguise: are I sure that he had not comprom I h I by I correspondence which had I seized?"

"I have the certainty," writes the I again, "Fouché sent, as his I agent, I Vienna, I M——, who made the following propositions, I which the adjoined I returned:—'I make I and I will rid you of the man.'—'Well, begin by getting quit of him.'—'I you the King of Rome, or a regency?'—'Neither.'—'I you have the Duke of Orleans?'—'No.'—'Well, if it I Louis XVIII,—content; I nobles, no priesthood, and, above all, I Blacas.'—'Begin, by getting rid of the man, I his whole generation.' I am much delighted I hear you I that the Duke of Orleans was sounded at Paris,

and rejected all advances made to him. May God preserve him in these good dispositions! I know not if you be aware, that, last year, in passing through Paris for Sicily, his first visit was to Madame Genlis. He remained with her till late at night, and then afterwards told one, who [redacted] that, in recalling the past, they had shed many tears together.*

Turkey has joined the universal crusade. Bonaparte [redacted] be greatly touched by [redacted] love [redacted] Europe bears towards his person!—Thus [redacted] I proceeded in my letter, when the arrival of [redacted] informed [redacted] of the successful attack of [redacted] 16th, which appears, in fact, [redacted] have commenced on [redacted] 15th. I cannot conceive how the Duke [redacted] Wellington had allowed himself to [redacted] taken [redacted] [redacted] out from Brussels on the morning of the [redacted] June, to make a reconnoissance, and, if he [redacted] taken the right road, [redacted] have found [redacted] at it, [redacted] six leagues from his hotel. The Prince of Orange, deserves much praise for having sustained the shock, [redacted] repulsed, *with great loss*, says the despatch, Bonaparte and his eighty thousand men. You will dispense with my tears for [redacted] Duke of Brunswick, who was good for any thing only [redacted] the [redacted] [redacted] After to-morrow, I expect details. An [redacted] who [redacted] Paris [redacted] the [redacted] of June, [redacted] had trusted [redacted] [redacted] memory, not wishing [redacted] take with [redacted] any paper, gave [redacted] the Duke of Wellington all the details desirable on the force and distribution of [redacted] army. A calculation, founded [redacted] inferences

* The reader [redacted] not he [redacted] that the Duke is now King of F[redacted]. The closing portion of the [redacted] refers [redacted] circumstances of the [redacted] Duke, [redacted] her [redacted] and Genlis, having fled to Switzerland, [redacted] [redacted] of [redacted] Revolution. Here, [redacted] Duke wisely [redacted] [redacted] hours of each morning in giving instructions in mathematics, [redacted] means of support for himself and the two ladies. — [redacted]

from this information, the troops the one hundred and seventy-seven thousand, the national guard from one hundred to and fifty thousand. The infantry good, and in fine order, the cavalry bad, and naked, the light artillery better than could be expected and, the best card in Bonaparte's hand, five hundred pieces of : The fortified places in condition, and imperfectly provisioned, except Lille, Valenciennes and Condé by the national guard, and by soldiers have renewed their service. Ah, sir ! is a great stroke to have overset the first enterprise of . A letter from de Stael, of date 2d May, states, Bonaparte cannot stand, and that France is divided between two parties, one for the republic, of which Benjamin Constant is the soul, the other for Monsieur the Duke of Orleans. This latter is the hope of all those who too deeply engaged in late ever to expect employment under the King."

My prediction was at length accomplished. The battle of Waterloo thus opened the gates of France to Louis XVIII. The moment that information arrived of his having quitted Ghent to enter his kingdom, I also set out from Hamburg, making all possible haste, in the hope of reaching Paris in the King. On 7th July, I alighted at St Denis, and, spite of intrigue, found an immense multitude eager to offer the homage of their congratulations. St Denis, in fact, was filled, that with the greatest difficulty I found a small apartment in a garret, by way of lodging. Having assumed uniform of captain of the national guard, I immediately repaired to the palace. The saloon was filled, and, as the crowd came to salute their sovereign, I found the royal family, who, not knowing I had quitted Hamburg, were agreeably surprised. The Parisians were eager to salute their King,

stratagem used to keep them at a distance. Paris was declared in a state of siege, and, for many days, Fouché contrived to remain master of the capital. At this time, two things were attempted to be imposed upon Louis,—the tricolor and Fouché: against the former stood firm; but the nomination of the latter man appeared inevitable.

On the 7th July, the King was informed, that Fouché alone could facilitate his entrance into Paris; that he alone had the keys; that he alone could direct public opinion. The value of these assertions could easily be estimated, when it was found that the presence of the King became the first and sole bond of concord and unanimity. Every day might be seen groups of the better classes assembled under the windows of the King's apartments, giving themselves up to rejoicing, and rendering to the royal family each day a holyday. The very appearance of joy and security displeased Fouché. His vile stipendiaries insinuated themselves amid these groups, threw corrosive liquids upon the ladies' dresses, committed indecencies, and mingled the seditious cry of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" with the loyal acclamations of "*Vive le Roi!*" By the aid of these miserable manœuvres Fouché triumphed, and contrived to have it believed that he was the only man capable of preventing those disorders, of which he was, in fact, the sole author. Fouché likewise obtained support from a very high quarter: Wellington and the influence which restored Fouché. Of the extent of that influence I felt well aware, though I did not at first believe it capable of supporting such an anomaly as Fouché, minister of the Bourbon. But I soon discovered my mistake. On the 8th of July, 1815, the principle of a privy council, composed of Bourbon princes, and others afterwards to be named, to surround the throne of Louis, was determined; and subsequently his new treasury appointed as follows:—The Prince Tal-

leyrand, foreign affairs; Baron Louis,* finance; the
 Otranto, (Fouché,) police; Baron Pasquier,
 chancellor; Godvion Cyr, war; Coun-
 Jacourt, marine; Richelien, of
 ; Marshal Macdonald, to the
 of all, succeeded the Abbé de Pradt, as chancellor
 of Legion of Honour. And my office, so frequently
 promised, and under circumstances so singular, was
 given another—M. de prefect of
 police. This I owed to the appointment of Fouché;
 for how possibly under a minister
 whose arrest I had once issued a formal warrant?

Two days after these arrangements, I called upon
 Blucher, established, as I have already said, in the
 palace of Cloud, in order to thank him for pre-
 serving my house from pillage. After the usual
 compliments, "Who would have predicted," Blucher,
 "that, after having been your prisoner, I
 should become the protector of your property? You
 treated me well at Hamburg; I now return the
 favour to you, Cloud. I know what may be the
 result of all this; one thing is certain, that this time
 the allies will enforce conditions which shall remove
 all fears of danger for a long while. The
 Emperor Alexander is unwilling to make the French
 pay too dear for the evils they have inflicted upon
 them. He attributes them to Napoleon; but Napoleon
 cannot pay the expenses of the war,—and some
 must. I might for once, but we will not
 brought a second time to the expense.
 One thing I say, however, you, you will
 of your territory. The Emperor
 has several times repeated to the King, my master,
 in my presence, 'I honour the nation; and I am
 resolved the allies shall retain their

* In the first list the name is Abbé Louis; in both cases is the same. — Translator.

limits.*" Taking advantage of this communicative disposition, I made some remarks on Blucher's excesses committed by his troops. "What would you do?" I have an eye every where; but I assure you, for the future, on your recommendation, I shall be punished, severely, all disorders fall under my notice." Spite of these promises, however, his troops continued to give themselves up the most revolting. The Prussian troops have, consequently, left, in the environs of Paris, a remembrance as odious as that which retained of Davoust's corps in Germany. Of this, a singular instance under my observation: In the spring of 1816, I was going to Chevrouse, and stopped to feed my horse at a village inn. I sat myself down on a seat near the door, beside the proprietor of the tavern. A large dog began a growling, when his master, a respectable looking old man, called out, "You be quiet, Blucher!"—"What a name," said I, "to give a dog!"—"Ah! sir, it is the name of a rascally —, who did much mischief last year. You see my house: there are the four walls, and that is all. The scoundrelly Prussians did nothing. We were told they came for good—but let them return! I am old, but have sons; they will track them at every turning of the woods, as we would so many wild boars." Still, the dog kept growling—my host every now and then interrupted his discourse to call louder, "Quiet now, Blucher!" I looked in upon his house; it was, as he had said, despoiled of every thing; and tears in the man's eyes, as he related his misfortunes.

His flight to Ghent, the King had shewn so condescending, as his promise of signature in the marriage-contract of one of my daughters.

* The verb in the original is inflected, as in the patois, or cockney French, of the environs of Paris.—Translator.

day appointed was precisely the fatal March; the signing, as may well be supposed, did not place. In the month of July, I renewed my request, my future son-in-law was only a lieutenant in the navy, the severe etiquette then required the signature should be a petty levee; and it was even talked the monarchy would be compromised by doing otherwise! The King, however, resolved to sign a grand levee. The reader may laugh, but I frankly confess this little triumph was no pleasure.

Soon after this domestic incident, the King counsellor of state; and, in August, having resolved convoking a new Chamber of Deputies, appointed me to preside the electoral college of my native department of the Yonne. Upon this nation, I called upon M. Talleyrand, to receive my instructions. The prince said, that, conformably to the intentions of the King, I must see the minister of police. "Absolutely," was my reply, "I see Fouché: you know our relative positions."—"Go," said M. de Talleyrand, "go to him—you may be sure Fouché will say nothing on past."

My repugnance to this step is not to be described; but I could not, of course, disobey the King's injunctions. I found Fouché, at nine in the morning, walking in his garden, in the most complete dishabille. alone, and received me as an old and intimate friend, whom he had not seen for a long while! This ought not be matter of surprise,—to could his hatred to the exigency of his position: he never alluded to arrest, and the reader may be assured such was the subject upon which I wished turn the conversation. I asked for instructions on the elections Yonne. "On my word!" Fouché, "I have none to give; get yourself

elected, if you can. Endeavour only to keep Desfournaux at a distance; all else to me the same thing"—"Your objection, then, Desfournaux?"—"The ministry dislike him"—"I was preparing to take leave,—"You are in a great hurry," said Fouché, "stay a moment"—He then turned the conversation upon the Bourbons, in a way which I mention. He asked me how I could easily resolve to support their cause? I replied, "That I wished to see France rescued from military despotism, and only aided in a restoration which I long foreseen, and ardently wished to have the conviction,"—"I," said I, "that Louis XVIII. would finally recognise the necessity of a constitutional government,—the only one possible in France"—"Thus, you think the French in favour of the Restoration?"—"I believe the majority to be favourable"—"You know not, then, that a moral opposition to the government of the Bourbon dynasty manifested itself in all the departments, from the very first months of their return? The old partisans of the republic, and the agents of Bonaparte, went about diffusing their opinions, that the Bourbons would return with superstition and the emigration. I can shew you a hundred reports on that subject. You know, that whatever was attempted by the government, for a whole year, tended but too well to exhibit dispositions. Has there ever been an opposition more direct against the interests and glory of a nation? and that relapse, so decided towards the past, did not, at the time, impress every one with fearful apprehensions for the future? The royalists of 1815 have shewn themselves exactly as they were in 1793. In all the important events of 1814, a total oblivion was

* This remark is curious. The representatives of thirty millions, sit in a charter, were chosen only after having received from the minister of police!—

put upon the events that had intervened, and upon the march of the age. The egregious folly has been committed, of wishing to force a people, enlightened by ages, to forget its knowledge, and to create for itself other truths. ■■■ attempted, by main force, to cause a retrogression, and to put all to the hazard, that ■■■ present might decide upon all ■■■ past, in favour of these antiquated notions. This inexplicable conduct gave ■■■ ■■ say, that ■■■ placed a ■■■ revolution upon ■■■ throne. Again the ■■■ measures are in agitation; but I am here, and ■■■ oppose with my whole might. We ■■■ terminate the grand contest of the Revolution, which is ■■■ y ended, after twenty-five years of overturnings and ■■■ lost upon inexperience: the nobility and the clergy ■■ for nothing every where, ■■■ in La Vendée. Not a sixth part of the French would place themselves under the ancient regime, and I pledge myself that not a ■■■ of the nation ■■ frankly devoted to the legitimate authority. You pretend ■■ be ignorant, that, in 1814, the French declared themselves loudly for a foreign prince—for the Duke of Orleans—and for a regency: very well, there ■■ not one foreign prince whom the constitutional party would not have preferred receiving at ■■■ hand of the Alliance, because, in such a case, the constitutionalists could have demanded, as the condition of submission, that ■■■ rights of the people should ■■ upheld. I can assure you, that, among the constitutional party, there ■■■ been but one exclusion insisted upon,—that of ■■■ family of our old kings. ■■■ this, surely, you would ■■ rank ■■■ of that party among the supporters of the Bourbons!"

Thunderstruck on ■■■ing such language from ■■■ mouth of a minister ■■ the crown, I answered Fouché,—"I ■■■ doubtless, far from approving of the system ■■■ in 1814, ■■■ none blamed it ■■■ loudly than myself; but you will permit me to say,

I cannot, with you, see these evils, with
superstition — emigration — Unquestionably, there will still be faults;
there will be — incultured with antiquated ideas,
— will, by degrees, remove these —
contrary, I think there may be remarked, a progressive
feeling of attachment — favour of the dynasty of —
Bourbons: the number of their partisans augments
daily. Patience, there must be legions —
of civilization, — the train of — victorious army.
Illumination of the mind, like the light of day, —
dawn gradually. There are no improvements which
I do not desire, but I would not have them precipitate;
and am therefore convinced, that the Bourbons alone
can, by little and little, establish true public liberty.
You, I willingly grant, — be the better informed of
the — tendencies of the public mind, but —
age — who transmit to you these reports, look with
their — eyes upon the things of which they speak;
and you know men too well, not — be — that
they view — through the prism of personal
opinion. If all these reports on the state of France
be correct, our situation would be deplorable, for, from
complaints, the people will pass to menaces, from
— to violence, attempts will be made —
turn what — prevent exists, and there will infallibly
result — civil — From such a consummation, God
preserves us?"

Fouche listened to me very attentively, —
— moment, passing his long fingers — his pale
forehead, and then replied,—" I — you are in
error, but the civil war will come, you may depend
— it, that, in — less sixty departements, only
— of royalists — oppose the — of —
people — royalists would prevail in — eighth of
— departements, and in the — — constrained
— silence"— "But, if I understand you — grace, —
do not seem to think it possible that the Bourbons can

remain?"—"I will not tell you my opinion," replied Fouché, with an ironical smile; "but you may draw such conclusions as you like best from my words: I am of absolute indifference."

I seized the moment to break this most extraordinary conference; and, farther, considered it as my duty to lay the whole before the King. No longer monopolizing access to the royal presence, I demanded and obtained a private interview with Louis; and, by aiding the prompt dismissal of Fouché, enjoyed the satisfaction of repairing one of the evils inflicted by the Duke of Wellington upon France. Fouché had, in fact, completely betrayed the cause which he had previously pretended to serve, and Bonaparte knew this well, that, during the Hundred Days, while they were discussing, in his presence, the King's ministry at Ghent, one said, "But among all these, I see no minister of police!"—"Eh, partieu!" interrupted Bonaparte, "that's Fouché's place."

Soon after my interview with the King, I set off for the elections at Yonne, and had the honour of being returned representative for that departement in the Chamber of Deputies. On revisiting Paris, I was profoundly affected to observe the government so lenient of severity, to punish which it was a better policy to attribute to the misfortune of times. No consideration shall ever prevent me from giving tears to the memory of Ney, who, in my opinion, was the victim solely of certain foreign interferences. His death was conceived to be a means of disabling France, and, for a length of time, incapacitating her for undertaking any thing, by indisposing against the royal government the army of the Loire, who thus mourned its best beloved chief, and who so often won its squadrons victory. I have no positive proofs on the subject, but, in my opinion, the death of Ney was a requital of his gratitude

which ~~he~~ conceived he owed ~~to~~ the foreign influence whereby he had been raised to the ministry. The reader will ~~not~~ have forgotten what Blücher ~~did~~ to ~~him~~ of the determination to weaken France.

Towards the end of August, I had the lively satisfaction of meeting Rapp, whom I ~~had~~ not seen for a very long time. Rapp ~~was~~ not of the number of those generals who betrayed the King ~~on~~ the ~~day~~ of March. He told me he remained ~~at~~ the head of ~~his~~ division at Etouen, under the orders of the Duke of Berri, ~~and~~ ~~did~~ not give in his submission ~~to~~ ~~the~~ minister of ~~war~~ till after the departure of the royal family. "Hou did Napoleon receive you?" inquired I. "You know," answered he, "what sort of fellow I am,—a perfect ignorant in politics: I waited till he sent for me, I had taken my oath to serve the King: I acknowledged no other service, and would have fought against the Emperor"—"Bah!"—"Yes, my good friend, and so I told him"—"How! did you venture?"—"Without doubt: I told him the revolution was a forced one." "'Oblood," replied he, with some hat of anger, "I knew you were before me: and, if we had come to blows, I would have sought you out ~~in~~ the ~~middle~~ of battle"—"I would have shown you a Medusa's head," answered I.—"What! would you have fired upon ~~me~~?"—"Unquestionably," said I.—"Ah! parbleu! that ~~is~~ much," cried he, "but your ~~soldiers~~ would not have obeyed you, they retained all their affection for ~~me~~."—"What could I do?" replied I. "you had abdicated; you had left France, you yourself had engaged us ~~to~~ serve the King, and, afterwards, you return! And then, ~~you~~ speak frankly, I augur ~~no~~ good of what ~~has~~ happened. wars, still more wars! France has had ~~enough~~ enough of war already." Upon this," pursued Rapp, "he assured me he had other views; ~~but~~ he wished ~~for~~ more war, but desired ~~to~~ govern in peace, and ~~to~~ occupy himself exclusively with

happiness of people. I objected to the hostility of foreign powers, he told me he was not anxious. He afterwards spoke to me of the King, — how I liked him. I answered, that I had every reason to be satisfied. In the course of conversation, the Emperor extolled highly the conduct of Duke of Orleans. Afterwards, he related the occurrences of his escape from Elba, and journey to Paris; he complained of being accused of ambition; and, on this word I allowed a peculiar expression to escape, 'How! am I then ambitious? look,' tapping his belly with both hands, 'can a man so fat as I be ambitious?' Then devil take me if I could help saying, 'Ah! sire; your majesty is surely quizzing me.' He pretended to speak very seriously; and, a few minutes afterwards, remarking my decorations, began to bunter me on the Cross of St. Louis, and of the Lily, which I still wore."

I conversed with Rapp on the enthusiasm which have been shewn on the coast traversed by Napoleon, after his landing. "Why," said Rapp, "I am not there more than yourself; but those who accompanied him, have since confirmed the truth of the details, as published; only, I think I remember to have heard Bertrand relate, that, in some circumstance, he had some fears for the Emperor's life, if any assassin appeared. It was while approaching towards Fontenoy from Fovard, where the Emperor had breakfasted. Napoleon's escort was fatigued, and they were fallen behind, so that he was almost alone, when a squadron, then in garrison at Melun, came out to meet, and escorted him to Fontainebleau. On the whole route, from what I was told, it appears he have incurred no real danger."

We began afterwards to talk of the existing state of affairs; and I told my friend how he found himself situated; for the condition of the generals who commanded divisions of the imperial army

campaign of Waterloo, was very different from what it had been in 1815. "I resolved," said Rapp, "to live in retirement, to take no part in any thing for the future, nor put on uniform. I had thus put my foot within the Court at the Tuileries on the King's return, when, one morning, about eight days ago, riding out along the avenue of Neuilly, I observed from a group of horsemen, on the opposite side, advance towards me. It was the Duke de Berry. I had merely to say, 'Is it you, my lord?'—'Doubtless it is I, my dear general, and now you will not refuse us, I need only say to you,—breakfast with me to-morrow morning.'—Major" continued Rapp, "what could I do?" he said this with so much kindness that I could not refuse. On the morrow I went, and we well reversed that I shall return; but will ask any thing. If only these scoundrels of Russians and English!"

The reader is of my nomination in August to be counsellor of state; on the 19th of the following month, I was appointed minister of state, and member of the privy council. I shall be pardoned in concluding with a circumstance flattering me on this latter occasion: The King had desired Talleyrand, as quality of president of the council of ministers, to present to his majesty a list of those persons who should compose his privy council. Having looked over this list, he said to the minister,—“But, de Talleyrand, I do not see here two of my good friends, Bourrienne and Alex. de Noailles.”—“Sure, I thought their nomination would appear in them much flattering by coming directly from your majesty.” The King then added my name to the list, and afterwards that of Count Alex. de Noailles. Thus the two are to be found in the original ordonnance in the handwriting of Louis XVIII.

It terminates what I have to say on the extraordinary and often fantastic events, whereof I have been a spectator, or wherein I have taken a part, during the course of an exceedingly agitated career, of which all that remains to me is — the recollection.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX TO VOLUME IV.

NOTE A. PAGE 111

MARIA LOUISA was born December 12, 1791; her mother was Maria Theresa, daughter of the King of Naples, and first wife of Francis II. Her character is represented as having been extremely amiable during her earliest years—a circumstance which exercised no inconsiderable influence in determining Napoleon's choice of a second consort. On the abdication, in 1814, the ex-Empress, by the treaty of Fontainebleau, was secured in the archduchy of Parma, including the territories of Placentia and Guastalla. Since the settlement of affairs, in 1815, Maria Louisa has resided chiefly on her Italian estates. There, of all the divisions of the Italian Peninsula, are the best governed, and in the dominions of the ex-Empress of France, the traveller will find every evidence of comfort and the absence of the wretchedness and misrule which every where prevail throughout a country blessed by nature, and cursed of man. Maria Louisa is married to the Count de Neipperg, formerly her chamberlain, a *schallars*, and, of course, is recognised not as it altogether because a foreign word, that *factotum*, applied to the count, is in Italian by Bourrienne. Her marriage either had, or should have, taken place long before 1825, when it was acknowledged.

The Duke of Reichstadt—who, as King of Rome, had lost a crown before he could know its value, or deplore its loss—the sole issue of Napoleon's marriage with Maria, has constantly resided in Austria since the abdication of his parents in 1814, and chiefly at Vienna and Olmutz. Some years ago, the translator frequently saw the duke at Vienna. He was then a handsome, slightly formed, and very interesting-looking boy, in full possession of his spirits, his favourite employments then seemed to be riding and driving. In the upper part of his countenance, he strongly resembles his father, in the lower, the obtuser and less distinct contour of the German physiognomy prevails over the more delicate well-defined outlines of the Italian features. Much has been said of the education given to this singularly-fated individual. From good information, the writer was led to regard it as extremely, culpably, and intentionally defective. Two instances may suffice. Professor M——, of Vienna, so well known as a linguist, under whom the translator studied German literature, stated to him, that several years had been devoted to running over the most obscure portion of the history of Switzerland, with the duke, to the careful exclusion of all knowledge of European history of a late date. The professor also stated, that a colleague of his had quitted the imperial service, and resigned his situation of tutor to the duke, because a police agent regularly took his station in the room during the hours of communication between the preceptor and his pupil. The translator does not guarantee the truth of these statements, but pledges himself for the fact of their having been communicated to him, and from a source not likely to be deceived.

NOTE B. PAGE 111

Moriss, (*Jean Victor*,) born at Mortaux, in Brittany, August 11, 1768, was of respectable parentage. When the commencing disputes that terminated in the Revolution broke out, he resided at Rennes, as a student of law. He disliked the profession for which his friends had

him: the times were calculated to increase his love of a military career; and having enlisted clandestinely in a regiment from which his release was purchased, he determined to embrace the command of a body of volunteers from his native province, and with them joined the army of the north. Pichegru, the commander-in-chief, was his friend; his own ardent study of the theory of war did the rest; and in 1793, at the age of thirty, we find him general of division. In the campaign of 1794, Moreau highly distinguished himself in the Netherlands. But, while pursuing a course of victory, he was deprived of his father, who fell a victim to the democratic rage of the very men whom he served with such faithfulness. Nor was he easily pardoned that ambition which staked in Moreau's breast the yearnings of natural affection, and thus made him the voluntary murderer of a parent's murderer. He had his reward, for, after assisting in the wonderful conquest of Holland, during a winter campaign, he was made general-in-chief of the army of the Rhine and Moselle. In this capacity, during the campaign of 1796, he passed the Rhine, defeated first Wurmser, and afterwards the Archduke Charles. But, in the end, having been led forward by the retreat, while he was weakened by the brave resistance of Prince Charles, he found himself, in turn, obliged to evacuate the fresh reinforcements which had joined the Austrians.

It was in this campaign that he performed his famous march through the Black Forest,—an achievement which added more to his reputation than many victories. In the campaign of 1797, he took the baggage of General Klengen, which, as recorded in the text, was the proof of his old friend Pichegru's apostasy. By his tardiness in not forwarding these until his discovery had been made elsewhere, he incurred the displeasure of the Directory. During Bonaparte's absence in Egypt, Moreau commanded both in Germany and Italy; and, though personally successful, general calamity rendered his partial triumphs unavailing. Subsequent events identify his history with the narrative in the text.

After his mock trial, Moreau passed the succeeding

eight years in America, upon an estate at some distance from Philadelphia. His motives and means which induced him, in 1813, to join the allies, were by Bourrienne, not without some share of the indignity, with which that fact is still remembered in France. Olmutz and Madvernons are just; nothing can be seen of her arms in a hostile army against our nation, whoever may, for the moment, be at the head of her affairs. Moreau's motives now, for the first time, certainly appear. They were detestable—he fought not in the cause of his lawful sovereign, but for himself, not against Bonaparte as the enslaver of his country, but as a rival, from whose downfall he hoped his own exaltation.

The Vignette in the present volume represents the scene of his fall. The monument is erected on the spot where he was struck down by a discharge from some flying artillery planted among the trees, which are seen extending from the walls of Dresden, a little to the left. The foreground is the face of the height by which the army was covered, and the position which was stationed Moreau and Alexander, with Lord Cathcart and Sir Robert Wilson, had come forward to make a sacrifice, Moreau somewhat in advance of the Emperor when the shot took effect.

Macdonald, (*Charles Louis James*), born in Sancerre, November 17, 1765, in the family of a gentleman of the family of Clanronald, who, in 1743, had joined the army of Prince Charles Edward, and who, after the battle of Culloden, fled to France, having rendered services of rather a conspicuous nature, as commissary for the rebel army. At an early age, young Macdonald entered, as sub-lieutenant, or ensign, in the regiment of Dillon, composed chiefly of Scotch and Irish, in the French army. On the breaking out of the Revolution, he embraced the principles, without participating in the excesses.

In 1794, we find Macdonald a colonel, and, next campaign, as general of brigade, in the conquest of Holland, he began to be known beyond the ranks of the French army. One of the most astonishing acts of that memorable campaign, was the passage of the Waal on the ice, in face of the batteries of Nimeguen. From

serving on this frontier, Macdonald had little correspondence with Bonaparte, till after the return from Egypt, when his name occurs among the supporters of the future emperor. But Napoleon had discovered the honest republicanism of Macdonald, and disposed of his opposition by sending them on distant missions. In 1806, on returning from the Rhine, he expressed, in high terms, his indignation against the trial and banishment of Moreau; and thenceforth, till 1809, Macdonald, unnoticed, lived in retirement in his country. When the forces of the Austrian empire were in arms, with the prospect of Russia in perspective, Bonaparte remembered the cool judgment and steady bravery of Macdonald, and gave him a command in Italy. From Italy the general drove the Austrians through the defiles of the Alps—followed the heart of their own empire—astonished Napoleon by joining him at the battle of Wagram was made a marshal, and, as stated in the documents quoted in the text, p. 41, gained a marshal's baton on that field, the best planned and best fought of all Bonaparte's battles. Among all the marshals of France, there was not one so pure every stain on his soldier's character—so daringly honest with Napoleon in his prosperity—so lastingly faithful to him in his adversity, as this his only Scottish officer. Macdonald was less faithful to Louis, resisting every solicitation of his unworthy leader. Nor, as the reader finds, were the Bourbons ungrateful; chancellor of the Legion of Honour, and peer of France, Macdonald enjoyed the highest honours of soldiery. After the Restoration, many who held gratuitous offices in other countries, stipulated for them. Macdonald's widow, an ancient friend, secretly applied to powerful friends at Neapolitan court, that the revenues of the dukedom of Tarentum might be continued. A marshal getting knowledge of this circumstance, immediately to the French plenipotentiary, prohibiting all interference. "The King of Naples," said the high-minded marshal, "owes me nothing, for having beaten his army, revolutionized his kingdom, and forced himself to seek refuge in Sicily." The King of Naples, being informed of this, said,—"Had I not laid down as a principle, to maintain none of the

French endowments, I would have made an exception in favour of Marshal Macdonald."

The political services of the Duke in the Chamber of Peers, since the second restoration, have been equally remarkable for their wisdom and moderation, as they were prior to the return from Elba. In fact, had two measures, the remuneration of the emigrants, whose property had passed into other hands, and another for the fulfilment of the imperial grants, been passed, the disasters of 1815 might have been avoided by France. The Marshal has been twice married, his first wife was one of the most beautiful women in France, Mademoiselle Lemonville; the second was the widow of a brother-in-arms, General Joubert. He has daughters, but unfortunately cannot fulfil his promise of transmitting to a son the sword of his chief, so honourably presented—the gift of gratitude and the reward of fidelity.

In 1820, Macdonald passed several months in Scotland, chiefly among his clansmen in the Highlands and Hebrides. Respecting this visit a singular tradition is received in France,—namely, that on being introduced to Sir Walter Scott, the Marshal offered to place at the disposal of the historian, authentic and unpublished intelligence on certain important and misrepresented events. Sir Walter declined the proffered aid, with the remark, "Thank you, Marshal, but I prefer taking my materials from popular and current reports." We relegate this to the class of fables.—*Duke of Tarentum.*

Marmont, (Frederic Louis,) was born of a noble family at Chatillon, upon the Seine, July 20, 1774 and entering the army at an early age, was among the first military companions of Bonaparte. Their intimacy commenced at Toulon, and throughout the whole of the *Memoirs*, Marmont consequently appears frequently. Marmont's military genius is of a high order, and his defeat at Salamanca—where he lost an arm—added as he was by his talents and fame of Soult, redounds to the glory of the Duke of Wellington. Marmont remained faithful to the Bourbons without having ungratefully abandoned Napoleon, and on this subject Bourrienne's details are very interesting. The history of this Marshal, however, supplies a striking

instance of great injustice of the world, both in its and . In 1814, Marmont became popular applause, from his celebrated defence of Paris, as narrated in the present volume. But, after all, this act was a mere bravado—an unavailing, hopeless spilling of human blood, for Marmont knew, and all knew, that Paris was finally to be defended; since, while no one expected, its protracted defence could be of no value. Under these circumstances, the sparing of the French capital was solely an act of generosity on the part of the allies; nor can there be any doubt, had they not been generous, that Marmont had brought upon himself, upon his brave surviving followers, and upon Paris, the military consequences of defending a city with an inadequate force, and with the intention of merely causing loss. At the present moment, again, Marmont is the object of detestation, for having adhered to the cause of his sovereign, in the defence of a post intrusted to his fidelity. In resisting, by force of arms, during the fearful transactions in Paris, the Marshal probably urged the performance of a painful duty, but, nevertheless, a duty not ought the chaplet of his just fame, gained in so many contests, for his country's honour, be now torn from his silvered head, because a stern necessity has tried his soldierly faithfulness and obedience.—*Duke of Ragusa, 1809.*

NOTE C. PAGE 114.

Poniatowski, (Joseph,) nephew of Stanislaus Augustus, the last King of Poland, was born 9th May, 1768, at Warsaw. From an early age, and throughout his career, when not led by the influence of the king, his uncle, he displayed wonderful activity, and great love for his country. That influence often paralyzed his energies, and gave to his conduct an apparent irresolution, which brought it under suspicion with the various parties. During the campaign of 1792, he fought the Russians, and distinguished himself by the courage showing great foresight, but, in the end, he allowed himself to be more intimidated by the orders of the court than by the

progress of the enemy. After the accession of his uncle to the confederation of Targowitz, Prince Poniatowski took leave with the greater part of his best officers. But, in 1794, when the Poles again essayed to expel the Russians, he returned to the Polish camp as a volunteer. This noble conduct gained the esteem of the whole nation. Kosciusko confided to him a separate division, with which he performed important services during both sieges of Warsaw. His hopes of restoring Polish liberty with Kosciusko, Poniatowski retired to private life, refusing splendid offers, both from Catharine II. and Paul, in the Russian service. When the creation of the grand-duchy of Warsaw awakened again the ardent longings of Polish patriotism, Poniatowski accepted the office of commander-in-chief of the Polish army. As commander-in-chief, with very inferior forces, he obliged the Archduke Ferdinand to retreat. In 1812, the Russian expedition called him again, "not willing, to the field," at the head of the Polish army. The circumstances of the death of the prince are described in the text. The monument erected in the garden of M. de Poniatowski is, however, a sarcophagus, but a simple square pedestal, terminating in a very obtuse pyramid. It is granite, not marble, and overhung by the light foliage of the acacia, not the weeping willow. The very amiable proprietor of this sweet, but melancholy spot, told the translator, that the prince was shot from behind a clump of trees growing at a little distance, by soldiers of the Russian army, just as he was about to leap his horse into the river. The prince left a natural branch of the royal line of Poland exists only in a collateral branch.

These brief notices may be closed with the life of a commander, whose career is traced in the text, from his first appearance in arms, when he became second in rank to Napoleon alone. *Eugene Bonaparte* was born in Brittany, on the 3d September, 1771. The death of the father, as already related, had exposed the boyhood of his son to severe privations. As a security against the dangers which a noble name drew upon the illustrious in those times of democratic rage, the future

vicaroy served as an apprentice to a joiner Rue de l'Echelle. In this street was living, not many years since, a lady, who recollected often to have seen him with a deal upon his back. In 1793, year, learning that his father's sword had come into the possession of General Bonaparte, he resolved on person to request its restoration. "Well, my brave youth, what would you?"—"General, I ask from you my father's sword?"—"Count Alexander Beauharnais." The bearing, and frank procedure of the youth, pleased Bonaparte, who immediately placed in his hands the relic which he sought. Eugene covered with kisses, gratefully his leave. To Josephine's visit of thanks for the attention paid her son, has been erroneously assigned the commencement of that correspondence which issued in consequences so important to both. They had previously met at the table of Barras.

In 1797, the young Beauharnais joined his father-in-law, then before Mantua, as aide-de-camp. From this period to the abdication in 1814, he was constantly in the field, or, during brief intervals of peace, actively engaged in the discharge of the highest civil offices. He formed one in the Egyptian expedition, and was naturally among the selected to accompany Bonaparte in his daring flight along the Mediterranean. Our author has described the sorrowful meeting of Bonaparte with her husband, and the affliction of her son, ready to forego his prospects, and abide by his mother's fate; there is no doubt, that if Bonaparte seriously entertained a resolution to repudiate Josephine at this time, his attachment for Eugene acted effectually in defeating such a determination. Another eyewitness has graphically described the part allotted the young Beauharnais in the tragic-comedy of the 18th Brumaire. On the morning he entertained at breakfast, in his lodgings, a party of junior officers, whom he gave directions afterwards to conduct to the grand reunion at Bonaparte. During breakfast, one of these thoughtless youths amused his companions by mimicking the members of Directory. These sallies were received with loud acclamations; and thus they set out in

a fit mood for treating with violence those whom they had just overwhelmed with rhetoric.

The fortunes of the house being established by the Consulate, Eugene received the command of a brigade of the consular guard, at the head of which he distinguished himself in the "day of Marengo." In the interval, he rose through various subordinate grades, and, on the foundation of the empire in 1804, was created prince. In the succeeding year he became viceroy of Italy. After the victories of Jena and Austerlitz, in which his gallantry had been conspicuous, Eugene was raised to new dignities, being declared Prince of Venice, ~~and~~ the Iron Crown, and a few months later, in the commencement of 1806, received from Napoleon ~~the~~ hand of the Princess Augusta Amelia, daughter of the King of Bavaria. The honest declaration of Rapp, as contained in the text, shews that these honours were conferred with the general approbation. The interval of comparative peace which succeeded, Eugene passed in his Italian government, and, had it been possible for any administrator of Napoleon's measures to retain popularity, the viceroy would have preserved ~~his~~, and that is a very unfair inference, that, because the Italians were against him in 1814, he did ~~not~~ therefore ~~lose~~ their support the support of Italians has ever been given to the strongest.

In ~~the~~ Austrian campaign of 1806, Eugene displayed his ~~own~~ intrepidity and conduct. After defeating ~~the~~ Austrian ~~army~~ opposed to ~~him~~ in Italy, ~~he~~ forced the passes of the Alps, penetrated into Hungary, then defeated ~~the~~ Archduke John, ~~in~~ the important battle of Raab, ~~he~~ joined ~~the~~ Emperor ~~and~~ opportunely, ~~he~~ share in the decisive victory of Wagram. But, in recompense ~~for~~ ~~his~~ exertions, ~~he~~ reaped the ~~fruits~~ ~~of~~ his hopes, ~~and~~ ~~the~~ elevation of an Austrian Princess to the imperial throne of Josephine. For the honour of ~~his~~ ~~son~~, Eugene instantly determined ~~on~~ retiring, ~~and~~ ~~the~~ Empress absolutely ~~forbade~~ such a step. The succeeding spring added a final dignity to the viceroy, in his appointment to the succession of the grand-duchy of Frankfort, an ~~office~~ which ~~was~~ ~~one~~ of ~~the~~ wealthiest princes of Europe. During

the campaign of 1812-13, the son of Josephine her most effectual support to the falling fortunes of Napoleon. In the fatal retreat from Moscow, with the exception of Ney, he was the only commander who maintained something of discipline among his troops. The subsequent campaign in Italy, during the winter and spring of 1814, was directed by Bourrienne. To oppose the hostility of the Austrians, and the treachery of Murat, required an ordinary talent, while he was rewarded by the emperor with equal prudence and resolution, until he was no longer avail.

Escaping from Italy to the court of Bavaria, Beauharnais was soon summoned to Paris, by the death of his mother. On his visit to the Tuilleries, he caused himself to be announced under his father's title, Vicomte Beauharnais. Louis XVIII. received him graciously, addressed him by the title of prince, and offered a residence in France, with the rank of prince and the rank of marshal. These Eugene refused, on the score that he must then as a junior, be below all the marshals whom he had formerly commanded, and who were in Munich. In the intrigue which preceded, in the event consequent on the return from Elba in 1815, there is no evidence that Eugene interfered. Or, rather, Bourrienne proves, though not ignorant of their existence, he in no way participated therein. In the arrangements, however, after the battle of Waterloo, the sovereigns stripped him of his dignities and possessions, under pretence that he conveyed information to Napoleon of their design to confine him in St. Helena. Granting, however, such to have been the intention, the intention might have been good, rather than evil,—to encourage Napoleon to desert, and to make terms while he might, and to instigate him to tempt the uttermost. From this period, his death, February 21, 1824, Eugene continued to reside in the house of his father-in-law, who conferred upon him the title of Duke of Leuchtenberg, with a sister, a beautiful countess on the lake of Constance.

Little justice has been done by English writers of the individual. From French

authors, and men of all characters in France, whose opinions are farther corroborated by his actions, we might quote conclusions, which rightly place him in military science not inferior to the best, and in the qualities of the heart, equal to any, and far superior to most, of Napoleon's commanders.

THE END.

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